

# THE PRIVATE LETTER BOOKS OF JOSEPH COLLET

SOMETIME GOVERNOR OF FORT ST. GEORGE, MADRAS

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

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AND AN

## APPENDIX

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## PREFACE

THE private letter books of Joseph Collet, from which the following documents are selected, are in the possession of Miss Caroline M. Collet, to whom they have passed by inheritance. They consist of four volumes, the first of which is in Joseph Collet's own hand and contains a diary of his voyage eastwards. The others are generally in the handwriting of various secretaries, to whom he seems to have dictated his letters.

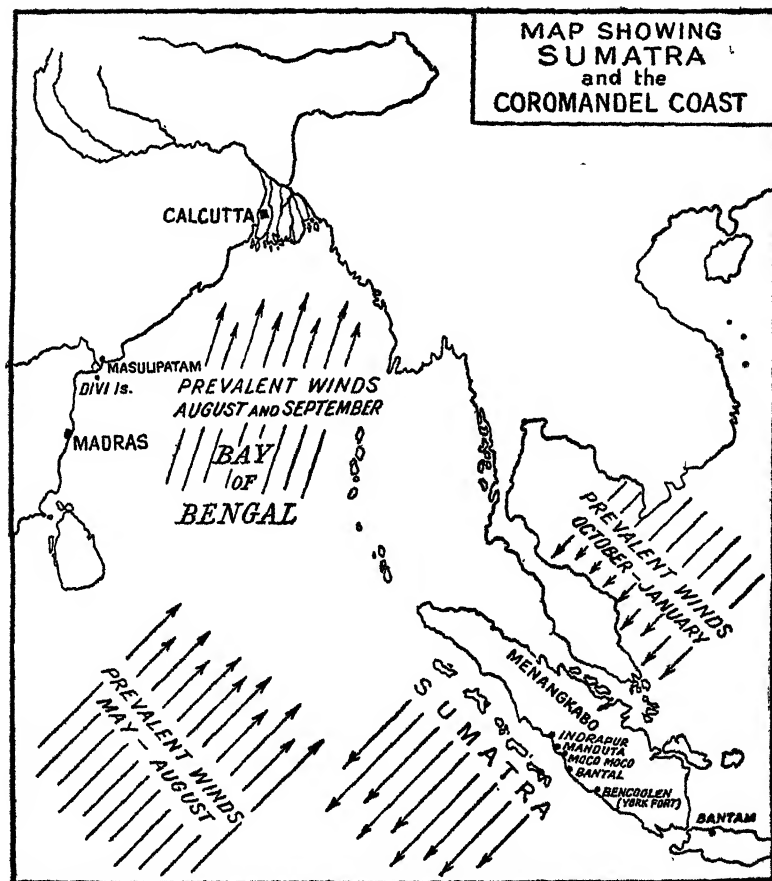
The history of the family is dealt with by Miss C. E. Collet in an appendix to the present volume. But I have also to acknowledge in the fullest terms her unvarying interest and assistance in the task of selecting and editing Collet's letters for the press.

The omitted portions deal either with small business detail or with religious questions. The first seemed unworthy of inclusion ; the second are adequately represented in the letters actually chosen for publication.

H. H. D.

*28th August, 1933*

MAP SHOWING  
SUMATRA  
and the  
COROMANDEL COAST



## INTRODUCTION

THE Collet family was one of great antiquity. They were merchants of Rouen in the time of Edward the Confessor, and probably traded with England even before the Conquest. The date of their settling in England is, however, uncertain. Joseph Collet himself speaks of an "ancestor who came over with the Norman conqueror."<sup>1</sup> But in any case the immigration was the fruit, not of war, but of trade. The circumstance is profoundly characteristic. For six centuries his ancestors had been English merchants, concerned with all the great branches of English commerce; in the Middle Ages they dealt in wool and wine; with the expansion of the renaissance they added sugar and tobacco and spices to the goods they shipped and dealt in. But even those who prospered did not seek to quit the rank of life in which they had been born. While many of their fellows in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries bought land and set up as squires, the Collets were content with owning the houses in which they lived. It was not for them to add field to field.

This sober temper led them inevitably in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries towards the Puritan movement. The most eminent member of the family was Dean Colet, the founder of St. Paul's School. Joseph's grandfather, Henry Collet, married a sister of a famous Baptist preacher; and this part of the family, at least, seems to have joined the Baptist branch of nonconformity. Joseph Collet was thus bred up in the twofold tradition of trade and dissent. The first carried with it the prime obligation of commercial honesty. It was the greatest disgrace in the world (as Surtees' hero was afterwards to remark) not to pay twenty shillings in the pound. On this belief the greatness of English commerce was built up, alike in this country and overseas; and few who study the record of the English

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Waterworth Collet, August 18, 1713, not printed here.

merchant of the period will differ from the judgment of Dean Colet, who, in entrusting the management of his new foundation to the Company of Mercers, declared that, "though there was nothing certain in human affairs," yet he found less corruption among merchants than in any other class of the nation. And while the commercial tradition carried with it the obligation of commercial good faith, the dissenting tradition carried that of intellectual honesty. The merchant thought it wrong to cheat other people ; the dissenter thought it wrong to cheat himself.\* Whatever his mind did not readily apprehend was never to be accepted on authority, but to be questioned, examined and if necessary rejected, regardless of any temporal consequences. Religious topics then possessed an attraction and importance which the growing secularity of modern thought renders difficult to appreciate. But free discussion was dangerous. Newton's successor lost the Lucasian Chair at Cambridge because he defended views regarded as heretical. Joseph Collet himself at one time wondered whether he might not find it necessary to retire to Holland rather than to England in order to enjoy the liberty of conscience which he regarded as indispensable.

His father, John Collet, was a merchant of the City of London. Joseph was the eldest son of a family of four. Born in 1673, he probably succeeded to his father's business when John died in 1698. Joseph married, and, by 1710, had begot a family of one son, John, and four daughters. His wife died ; trading misfortunes, perhaps connected with the war against "the royal treaty-breaker," as he calls Louis XIV, drove him into bankruptcy ; and he was compelled to deliver over all his property to his creditors, who at the moment received only 7s. 2d. in the pound on their claims against him. But it seems to have been well known that this disaster was due neither to folly nor to incompetence. Collet's personal credit still stood high. His friends were ready to back him with money and guarantees. He was brought to the notice of Gregory Page and other directors of the East

India Company, and by them was offered the post of deputy-governor of York Fort in Sumatra for a term of at least four years. He accepted the offer, and sailed to take up the office on April 15, 1711.

Of the English settlements in Sumatra little survives in popular memory beyond the facts that Stamford Raffles once served in them, and that in 1824 they were handed over to the Dutch in return for worthless factories in India and for the recognition of the new settlement of Singapore. These Sumatran factories represented the only practical result of the East India Company's endeavours to secure a share in the great spice trade of the Indian archipelago. Dutch power and jealousy had prevented the success of all the factories set up in the inner and more profitable centres of the archipelago ; but English tenacity had secured and maintained a foothold on the outer, western coast of the great island of Sumatra. The political state of the island was chaotic. The sultan of Bantam, in the north of Java, laid claim to supremacy over the south-eastern part of Sumatra. In the centre Menangkābo, the survival of what had once been a great and powerful state, claimed suzerainty over a host of little sultans and rajas (both terms were used almost indiscriminately in the island, the first owing to the establishment of Islam along the coastal regions, the second owing to the great influence of Indian immigrants in medieval times). Along the coast, at Indrapur, at Manduta, and many other ports, were semi-independent chiefs, commonly at war one with another or with their supposed suzerains. To add to the confusion, the Dutch were established on the island as well as the English, and the mutual hostility of the two nations gave ground for a thousand intrigues. The physical conditions were as miserable as the political state of the west coast. Access was everywhere rendered difficult by the wild surf through which boats had to pass, to the infinite danger of both men and goods. And even when the surf had been passed, and the traveller had come to land, the climate of the country well deserved its pestilential reputation.

None of the places where the East India Company's servants settled were health resorts. In India on an average half of all new-comers died within two or three years of their arrival. But on the west coast of Sumatra few were they who survived that period of time. The damp and rotting heat destroyed almost all who dared to venture within its reach. An appointment at the Company's Sumatran factories was next thing to a death sentence. Few but desperate men accepted one. Those who did were normally men who had tried many other occupations and failed in them. At York Fort, at Bantal, the Company's factors could not hope, as they might do at other stations in the East, to make a fortune. Trade was too restricted; life was too short. They looked rather for a time of comparative ease, during which they could employ whatever profits, lawful or illicit, they could snatch on such pleasures as the island could afford. The West Coast factories, as they were commonly called, were therefore places of disorder. Nor did physical circumstances permit the maintenance of any regular discipline or control. They were remote from India, and even more distant in time than space. The monsoon winds only suffered shipping to sail thither from May to August, and to return only from October to January. The voyage itself, under not unfavourable circumstances, occupied five weeks. Six months would generally pass between the dispatch of news from York Fort and the receipt from India of orders on the news. The deputy-governor was therefore left very much to his own control. Various plans had been tried by the East India Company to set up a regular system of management. Sometimes the West Coast had been placed under the orders of the president and council of Madras; sometimes it had been made directly dependent on orders from England. But neither plan had produced good results. The principal purpose of the factories was to procure a supply of pepper; but the cargoes obtained from Sumatra had been poor and costly.

To Collet the offer of the deputy-governorship must have

brought strangely mixed feelings. At the moment the predominant motive with him was to discharge the debts from which the law had set him free but which he felt bound in conscience to repay. If he remained in England, it would take him years to make enough by the ordinary processes of trade to pay off the £3,000 which he considered he still owed his creditors. The Company offered him a salary of £100 a year as deputy-governor, with a further £100 a year as commander of the garrison, and £100 a year gratuity to be paid only if deserved, and he was given hopes of subsequent preferment on the Madras establishment. These payments would allow him to live and to maintain his family ; and any profits which he might be able to make by trade could be devoted to redeeming his good name. As against these prospects was to be placed the long odds of death before his four years were out. But that he could face in his strong confidence in protection by the hand of God. He accepted the offer. Four friends, Joshua Lock, John Travers, Richard Wilkinson, and John Bedwell, all merchants and the last his brother-in-law, stood surety for him in £500 each. He borrowed £1,000 for his outfit and to provide trading capital in the East ; and on April 15, 1711, sailed from England in the *Jane*.

Misfortune still accompanied him. The *Jane* put into Rio de Janeiro, and within a week fell into the hands of a French squadron commanded by Duguay-Trouin which seized Rio. The earliest letters deal with this incident and explain the measures which he took to extricate himself from this new disaster. He ransomed the *Jane* from the French, giving them bills of exchange drawn on the East India Company, and leaving his young son John and another as hostages for the due payment of the bills. On May 24, 1712, he reached Madras ; on July 23 he arrived off Bantal ; and on September 1 he landed at York Fort, and assumed his government.

The difficulties of his task have already been indicated. In some ways too they must have been unexpected. He

looked upon himself as above everything a merchant ; but he found himself forced to assume the role of administrator and politician. He speedily proved, as other English merchants proved elsewhere in the East, that he possessed a force of character which could rise to these new responsibilities. Had Adam Smith been better acquainted with the administration of the East India Company in its earlier days, before it had risen to a great political position in India, he would have seen reason greatly to modify his famous diatribe against the union of the merchant and ruler. On a small scale, in the little factories of the company before the victories of Clive, the merchant made an admirable ruler. The fact is proved by the rapid growth of the Company's settlements in India. Had the company's governors and councils been greedy and tyrannous, Indian traders and artisans would never have flocked into Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay in ever-increasing numbers. They went thither because they found there a just and considerate administration. Such an administration Joseph Collet set up at York Fort and the other factories under his control. The development of his character in these new circumstances is admirably revealed in some of his letters. " Be of good courage," he writes to the chief of one of the lesser factories in a letter too slight to be reproduced, " be modest and yet resolute. Depend on my protection." He had a knack of attaching men to himself. More than one of his subordinates left legacies to his daughters, whom they had never seen ; and while during life they might have looked for his assistance, the disposal of their goods in the article of death must have been free from hopes of personal favours. " I keep the great boys as quiet as I can," he says, " but am oblig'd now and then to take away their bread and butter." On the other hand, he could show a sterner side of himself. He repeats more than once his favourite maxim, He that will not bend shall break. These were no idle words. He was prepared, in cases of obstinacy, to exceed his powers rather than allow misconduct to go free of penalty.



His relations with the rajas and sultans of Sumatra betray a remarkable development. On his arrival he regarded himself as merely the agent of the company's trade. To one who requested his assistance against an enemy, he wrote that war was a matter with which he had nothing to do. "I suppose when both sides are weary of warr, you will have peace restored, and then I shall be ready to give you dollars for your pepper, which is all the business I will have to do with any of the natives." But this attitude he found reason to change. War was so frequent that the trade which he came to conduct could not go forward. He had to choose between allowing the Company's supplies of pepper to fall away and disobeying the Company's instructions by interfering to procure peace. He sends ships and men to Bantal to compel two warring sultans to desist. He is resolved to "enforce" peace. He does so, and has the satisfaction of seeing the chiefs once more submitting their differences to his judgment, and this time he has learnt not to refuse his arbitration.

Meanwhile he bore up wonderfully against the influences of the climate. Especially to his female relatives he refers again and again to the good health which he continued to enjoy, and suggests more than once that the reputation of the West Coast was undeserved. He abandons York Fort, built in a swamp by the sea-shore, and too small to house all the Company's servants, many of whom lived outside in country-houses, and replaced it by a new and stronger fort, Fort Marlborough, in a less unhealthy site, with accommodation for all the employees, so that the deputy-governor could keep a closer eye on the conduct of his subordinates. But even he suffered severely in one most pestilential season, in which death and sickness among his fellows left him almost alone to transact the company's business ; and, although his health remained on the whole surprisingly good, the four years which he spent on the West Coast unquestionably undermined his strength. In one way, however, his expectations must have been fully realised. He succeeded in making

enough to discharge his obligations to his creditors before he sailed for Madras in the middle of 1716, leaving the Sumatran settlements more prosperous and orderly than they had ever been before.

It will be remembered that perferment on the Coromandel coast had been set before him as an inducement to accept four years' service in Sumatra. Nothing like a definite promise had been given; and at one time Collet had seriously meditated remaining at Fort Marlborough unless he could obtain some assurance of considerable promotion elsewhere. But Edward Harrison, the governor of Fort St. George, Madras, wisely and strongly dissuaded him from such a course. He reminded Collet that no constitution could long endure such a climate, and urged him to refrain in his letters to the directors in England from even hinting willingness to remain, lest he should be taken at his word. At the same time Harrison wrote to his friends in England, setting forth the services and qualities of the deputy-governor, and suggesting that they should receive due recognition. The proposal, backed as it was by Collet's undeniable success in the difficult and thankless position which he had occupied, was approved by the court of directors. Collet had been appointed to the Madras council at the same time that he became deputy-governor of York Fort. Deaths and departures had gradually raised his rank from youngest of council to fourth; and the company decided that he should be promoted to second of council, with succession to the chair on the resignation of Harrison. On arriving at Madras, therefore, Collet at once found himself in a position of great influence, and, when Harrison went home early in 1717, took his seat as president and governor. This opened to him prospects of great worldly success. He occupied an important and responsible office. Madras was at that time the wealthiest and largest settlement of the East India Company. The shipping of the port was to be found in every Eastern sea. Capital was plentiful. A man of good character could borrow as much

as he wanted and trade as largely as he would. The worshipful governor could confidently reckon on returning to England with a handsome fortune. Current gossip placed the profits of the governor at near £10,000 a year.

But an event had already happened to overcast these new and brilliant prospects. Collet's son, after being released by the payment of Collet's bills of ransom for the unlucky *Jane*, had returned to England and rejoined his father with an appointment on the establishments of both Madras and the West Coast. His zeal and enterprise gave his father high hopes of his future success. He arrived at Fort Marlborough in 1714 and at once applied himself actively to business. But the climate, which could only weaken his father, overthrew him altogether. Within a year of his arrival he was dead. I think this was the heaviest visitation which Collet was ever called on to bear. He says little of it. But, if I read his character aright, his silence was that of grief, not of insensibility. The reader may notice that his letters contain no reference whatever to his dead wife. Both these illustrations of his reticence should be compared with his evident affection for his daughters, and especially the eldest, Betty. Though his feelings lay behind a close mask of reserve, they were deep and real. He was a man who might be trusted much further than his mere word.

The second stage of his Eastern career, which opened at Madras, displayed ceaseless activity. He was busier with political and commercial affairs than he had ever been before. Doubtless in the occupations of practical life he found an anodyne which aided the comfort of his spiritual exercises. The story of his administration need not be told at great length. The most important episodes of it were connected with an embassy which the Company had recently sent to the Moghul court at Delhi. The embassy had succeeded in procuring the imperial grants for long-desired privileges and possessions. But great difficulty was found in securing the due performance of the imperial orders. At Madras these included the surrender of a small group of

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villages in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, and of an island off Masulipatam known as Diu or, more correctly, Divi. The local officials could find no good reason for surrendering territory at the mere behest of the distant emperor, whose authority had already fallen into disregard. Though the villages were at first occupied by the English, the troops of the nawab of Arcot soon attempted to expel them. On this Collet took strong action. He sent out a detachment of the garrison and drove away the Muslim troops with some loss. A little later, after Collet's departure, the nawab agreed to leave the villages in the possession of the English. The Divi affair turned out less fortunately. It was too remote for vigorous action; and, moreover, it lay within the jurisdiction of a much more powerful noble than the nawab of Arcot. The northern coast lay within the dominions of the famous Nizam-ul-mulk, from whom the nizam of Hyderabad has inherited his title. Nizam-ul-mulk enjoyed a virtual independence; and his deputy at Rajahmundry refused altogether to hand the island over to the English Company. Accordingly, although the English took formal possession, they were soon expelled, and indeed came afterwards to the just conclusion that the island was not so valuable as they had supposed at the time when they had sought its cession.

The other episode to which Collet specially alludes involved him in seeking to determine a curious point of southern Hindu custom. All the Hindu castes in the south were grouped into two great divisions, called the Left- and Right-hand castes. The origin of this grouping is unknown, and the division has practically disappeared in the course of the nineteenth century. But down to the end of the eighteenth century disputes between the two frequently embroiled the town. Each had certain customary privileges, determining the colour of flags which each might use in processions, and the streets through which the processions of either party might pass. Both sides too were ever on the watch to steal an advantage by usurping some mark of distinction to which

it was not fully entitled by custom. When this happened, riots would ensue ; clamorous appeals would be laid before the local authorities ; and not infrequently the side against which the decision was given would seek to overthrow it by passive resistance, by deserting the settlement, or by refusing to discharge their customary functions. The scavengers might refuse to carry away refuse, or the dyers might leave the Company's cloths undyed, the washers might leave them unbleached. In Collet's time such a dispute occurred. Collet went into the matter with his accustomed thoroughness, and delivered an award which was referred to for at least a couple of generations afterwards as an authoritative and rightful decision.

All the time, too, Collet was trading with extraordinary activity. He took up numerous ships, on which he found employment for many persons recommended to him by his friends in England ; and service under him was regarded as at least as beneficial as any of the inferior offices open to persons not in the privileged service of the Company. He tells his brother-in-law that he might in a single morning " at an outcry " buy goods worth no less than £12,000. His fortune rapidly increased. He gives orders to his attorneys in England to make suitable allowances to all his poorer relatives. He increases the allowances made for his daughters' support and education. His sister may keep a coach for them if it seems to her expedient. They are not to throw themselves away in marriage, but to remember that they are the daughters of the governor of Madras. But at the same time he seeks no marriage out of the rank of life in which he and they had been born. Let them avoid " quality," and marry sober, honest men of good estate.

On the whole his eight years in the East did much to secularise his way of thought. He learnt from the responsibilities of government, and, without relaxing his standards of probity, became perceptibly less straitlaced. Take, for example, his references to the numerous recommendations which he received from England. At first he expects that

they should be literally and exactly accurate. He severely rebukes an old friend for recommending to him one whom he calls "the most scandalous person on the West Coast." A little later, however, he regards recommendations as merely calling his attention to individuals who will be dealt with exclusively on their merits. Finally at Madras they have become a matter of form only, and he tells his brother to mention in his private letters those persons whom he wishes seriously to recommend to the governor's notice. Experience of affairs enlarged his interest in the political world. At first he regarded politics only in so far as they affected religion. As a Baptist he was excluded from public life. Yet his thoughts turned towards a public life on his return to England. He glories in the overthrow of the Stuarts. He thinks of entering parliament, even at the cost of occasional conformity, and tells his attorneys to seek for him a qualifying estate. Characteristically he names the new fort which he built at Bencoolen after the great Whig general, and at Fort St. George renames one of the bastions after the same hero.

The more pious of his friends in England shook their heads over what they regarded as a falling away. They feared he was becoming covetous, worldly minded; and, when some busybody reported that the pious governor had condescended to dance, the tone of his home letters obliged him to explain away this approach to perdition, and to deny that he was seeking wealth at the cost of his immortal soul. And indeed his concern with religious matters continued unabated. His letters recur again and again to the problems raised by the Athanasian Creed and the doctrine of the Trinity. The independence of thought which he had inherited from Puritan ancestors moves on to attack even doctrines guarded, as he says, by hell and damnation. To the modern reader the chief interest of this part of his letters probably lies in the fact that they reveal in a clear and pointed form the beginnings of Unitarian thought. Incidentally the reader will note with interest that early Unitarians turned to other faiths, such as Zoroastrianism for

inspiration. Collet's brother desired information about the Zend-Avesta. One is reminded of the enthusiast who at a later date adopted Turkish garb out of respect for the Unitarianism of Islam. But Collet himself had little leaning in this direction. He refused to countenance the myth of the superiority of Eastern morals—indeed he had viewed them too close at hand. When at York Fort, Collet was much interested in doctrinal questions. He put together and elaborated a paper attacking the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, and wrote a sketch after the manner of the *Spectator*, in which he attempted to reinforce his ideas by expressing what a Brahman might be supposed to think on the subject. But all the time his interests were, perhaps, more practical than theoretical. He will not have the over-damnatory Athanasian Creed read either in the hall used for worship at York Fort or in St. Mary's Church at Fort St. George. He will be Head of the Church, and will not hear himself damned publicly. Experience of rule raised other questions which occupied much of his attention, illustrating again that secularisation of interests to which I have already alluded. The new interests were the problems of missions and education. He takes a cool and detached view of the work being done by the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar. Their converts are mainly "rice" Christians, men who have forsaken their ancestral faith for temporal advantage. Nothing but miracles which he plainly does not expect to happen, will convert the adult Hindu. But in education he sees a more promising method of approach. You can teach the young what you please, he says; and education therefore offers the proper instrument for the introduction of Christian influences into India. Just as, after his return, he devoted himself mainly to the promotion of education in the neighbourhood of his home in England, so too in Madras he assisted in the educational movement which had already been inaugurated by his predecessor.

In many ways Joseph Collet was thus typical of the best of his period, as well as of its limitations. He disliked the

enthusiast ; he despised the mystic ; he was incapable of subtle abstract thought ; plain common sense was his sole intellectual guide. But with this he coupled a sense of form and propriety in conduct, an honesty both with himself and with others, that are truly admirable. Balance, moderation, restraint, are the key-notes of his character. In no circumstances can he be imagined abandoning himself to despair ; his son's death wrings from him no lamentations ; nor in prosperity does he exult. So, though he lacked the intellectual power and imaginative insight of those men who may properly be called great, he had in full measure that tough English quality which secured for England not only great political power but also the trust and co-operation of many Eastern races. I cannot suppose that either the Sumatran chiefs or the Indian traders loved Collet. But there is good reason to think that they trusted him. In Sumatra he was an exception. His period of rule falls between times of confusion and dishonesty. At Madras, though exceptional, he was much less exceptional. More pious than most of his predecessors and successors at Madras, and more honest than some, he nevertheless falls into line with men like Pitt and Harrison before him, with Benyon and Saunders after him. It should never be forgotten that without the foundations laid by Collet and his like the victories of Clive would have been fruitless, even had they been won. He would doubtless have been much astonished to learn that he was aiding to set up an empire in India. But he would have been much less astonished at the close of his government than at its beginning.



## LETTERS: ON THE VOYAGE OUT

RIO DE JANARIO,

*October 15, 1711.*

TO DANIEL DOLINS, ESQ.,

IN HACKNEY.

SIR,

Both the date and business of this letter will surprise you, but so it is, that on the 18th of August we entered this port having sailed five degrees out of our way for that purpose. The reason of this Conduct is to be given by Capt. Austen and his Officers. 14 days after our arrival Monsr. de Guay came in after us with 15 saile of french men of Warr and Friggots and two Bomb Vessells, in an hour's time they were masters of the harbour in Spight of all the Portugese forts and 4 of their men of warr, and 3 days after were in full possession of the town and all the forts, which are very strong. The land force and mariners of the french amounted to about 3500 men, the Portugese had 1000 regular troops, 2000 marines, 4000 Citizens in arms and 7 or 8000 Blacks, all which after a little Cannonading quitted the town in the night without one blow, having sent their women and treasure before, and this without the least defect of arms or ammunition of which they left great Stores behind. As for our Ship she was run during the first action a little higher up the harbour, just out of the Enemy's gun shott tho' in their full view. Capt. Austen determined to surrender on the first summons. I was unwilling to be taken and therefore quitted the Ship the first night and retired into the country till the fate of the town was decided, for if it had held out I had escaped, whereas it was certain the french would have our ship whether they got the town or not. But when the town was taken I found that greater difficulties were to be expected amongst the Portugese than amongst the french. I therefore resolved to go to the town and

surrender myself to the french Generall. In my passage down the river I saw our Ship got up a little higher in the river with her English Colours still flying. I went on board and found they had not yet been summoned. I stayed on board two nights when the Capt. persisting in his resolution to surrender the Ship, I pursued my former design, and going in the boat I brought with me out of the country I surrendered myself and my son with two other gentlemen prisoners of warr to Monsr. de Guay. The first mate of our Ship by the Capt.'s orders followed us immediately in the Ship's boat to surrender the Ship which was done accordingly. The french treated us with a great deal of civility and I began to think on some way to proceed on my voyage to India without returning to Europe knowing that it was of great importance to the Company as well as myself to doe so. I proposed to the french to buy a small vessell of them. They told me there were some Brigantines and other small vessells in the Harbour but none that I could with safety undertake such a voyage in, but that they would sell me our own ship. I positively refused to treat about her, both because I would not interfer with the Captain if he had any thoughts of ransoming her and also because I had reason to apprehend from the conduct of some in the Ship that they would be glad of any colourable pretence to traduce me which thanks be to God they cannot yet find. However, the french permitted me to visit the Brigantines, etc., which answered the character they had given them. About a fortnight after this I received a letter from Capt. Austen acquainting me that the french would not sell the Jane without the Loading and if I would I might buy both. I found by this he had been treating for the ship. I went to him and asked whether he would treat for both. He said he would not. I then first entered on a treaty for the Ship and Goods which I have now concluded but at such a price that I pay the full value of both at the English price but the greatest part of the loading beifig for the Company's account and consisting of Navall and Garrison Stores, I thought it

for their Interest to buy them again tho' at prime cost because they may be wanted in India and I have a pass for seven months which secures them from any further danger of an enemy.

And now, Sir, after this long introduction I come to what concerns yourself and the Gentlemen concerned in promoting that good design of propagating the Gospell in the East Indies, as I am now possessed of all the materialls sent by you on board this Ship and have taken Mr. Fink also on board to carry him to his post. I might in Justice do by you as I shall by the Company, (that is) charge the prime cost which I know, but my Inclination to forward a work so agreeable hath given me other thoughts. I have therefore drawn a bill on you this date payable to Mr. John Bedwell or order for one hundred and fifty pounds one month after sight, in consideration of which I have delivered to Mr. Fink all the things intrusted to him and shall give him and them passage to Maderass. I doubt not that this will be abundantly to the satisfaction of the Gentlemen concerned and that my Bill will be duly comply'd with.

My hearty wishes and prayers for the success of so glorious an undertaking concludes

Sir, your humble serv't

J. C.

We hope to sail in a week's time. I forgot to tell you that in my pure haste the Treasure was excepted, all which the french have taken out of the Ship excepting one Chest of the Company's and your small Chest consigned to Mr. Fink, both which were Stolen by some of the Ship's Company who run away with them and the Pinnace whilst I was up in the Country as appears by a protest signed by the Capt. and Officers of the Ship, so that treasure is not Included in the Consideration above mentioned.

J. C.

RIO DE JANARIO,  
*October 15th, 1711.*

TO MR. JOHN BEDWELL.<sup>1</sup>

DEAR BROTHER,

I expected to be in Asia before this time . . . [Repetition] . . . I entered on a treaty for [the ship] with the French which I have at length concluded for 3500 pounds sterling for the Ship and Loading (excepting the Treasure and some Corral which the French took out) which I take to be much about the value in England reckoning the Company's Goods in the ship at 1500 pound, the other goods in the ship at £500 and the ship at £1500. I have drawn the money on the Company payable 3 months after the arrivall of the French Squadron in France, desiring them to Insure £2000 for my account and for their own security. I have delivered my son and Mr. Edmond Bunting Hostages for performance. I am now in possession and hope to sail next week when I believe the french will also be ready to sail. . . . At first view this may appear a bold undertaking. I shall now give you my reasons. The Company's effects consist chiefly of navall and garrison Stores, which I thought might be of greater importance to proceed speedily than the value itself, besides that as things are now disposed I believe that the presence of myself and Mr. Yarborough at Bencoolen will be of great service to the Company's affairs. And as to my self having lost all the expence of my fitting out I was very unwilling to run thro' the same again and lose two years time in the bargain, besides that tho' I have paid the full value in England yet in India both the ship and my part of the Cargo will yield considerable profit.

The only objection to all this is if the Company should refuse my bills, my hostages must remain in France. But this I believe they will not do, partly for the reasons above and also that I shall be able to pay the Two thousand pounds

<sup>1</sup> Brewer, of Millwall. He married Ann Harding, stepsister (or half-sister) of Mary Ross, Collet's deceased wife.

into their Treasure at Bencoolen. But suppose the worst, I have wrote to Mr. Page<sup>1</sup> to desire him in such case to Insure 2000 pound for me and to write to Mr. de Guay that tho' the Company doe not make good my Contract yet on advice I will remit the value to him with full interest for the time, on which I doubt not he will continue the kindness towards my Hostages, which he has already assured me he will show them, and even that will be much better for us all than for me to have returned with them. I have on Board a Printing Press, paper etc sent by the Gent. concerned for the propagating of the Gospell in the East. I have valued their effects at one hundred and fifty pounds for which I have sent you enclosed my bill on Dan'll Dolins Esq. of Hackney, my very good friend and one of that Society. I have also sent you a bill on our old friend Mr. Joseph Marlow for fifty pounds for the ransom of his Jewells which I hope to deliver safe at Madarass and also to pay my own bill there to his order. This money I would have applied at your discretion for the service of my Children at home, and my Hostages in France to whom I have given liberty on their release to visit Paris and to pass thro' Flanders and Holland on their way home.

I have lost all my best cloaths, wiggs and linnen and bedding. I have but one pair of shoes and one of them has a hole almost thro'. I have lain whole nights in an open boat, and that once when it rained without intermission. I have been without a bed in my Cloaths a fortnight together and not seen a bitt of bread in a week. I have been wet thro' for 2 days together, and yet I thank God myself and son enjoy as perfect health as ever. I have almost lost my headach which has not given me any considerable trouble more than once since I left England. I have a better Stomach than usuall and have perfectly forgot what the Hyppo<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gregory Page, senior, director of the East India Company 1709-22 ; Chairman, 1716.

<sup>2</sup> In 1711 Mandeville published a volume under the title : *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick passion, vulgarly called the Hypo in men and vapours in women.*

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means. As to religion I have learnt an entire resignation and a firm confidence in that Goodness which I am sure will never fail me.

My duty to my Mother, love to my Children and due respects to everyboddy else for I can write to Noboddy but what's in this packet, the Company and Mr. Page.

My dear Brother, God bless you and yours,  
Your most affectionate,  
J. C.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,  
*February 5, 1711/2.*

TO GREGORY PAGE, ESQ.

HON'BLE SIR,

. . . As to my future Conduct respecting both the Company's affairs and my own, I shall, God granting me a safe passage to Maderass, intreat the favour of Govr. Harrison's advice and assistance,<sup>1</sup> from whom I doubt not on your account, Sir, to meet with a kind reception. I shall esteem it no less my Interest to obtain his favour and friendship than it is my duty to obey him as my Superior, and I doubt not so to behave myself as to justify the Character you have been pleased to give of

Sir, your most obliged Humble Serv't,  
JOSEPH COLLET.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,  
*February 10th, 1711/2.*

TO MR. JOHN COLLET.

INCLOSED TO MR. BEDWELL.

MY SON,

It being uncertain where this letter may find you, I shall only write in generall terms. If you are in England

<sup>1</sup> Edward Harrison, governor of Madras 1711-17. He made a considerable fortune, and, after his return to England, entered Parliament, became chairman of the East India Company, dying in 1732. His daughter married Viscount Townshend, and was famous for her wit and gallantries.

you will have further particulars from your uncle Bedwell : if in France this will be sufficient.

. . . I have discharged Mr. Taylor my Chief Mate and entertained another used to the India trade. Mr. Fink leapt overboard (as we suppose) the day we left Brasill, having never seen him since. Captain Orrill has bene stab'd here by one Mr. Rowland Tryon, a young Gent : in the Tanker-vill homeward bound, who being in drink darted his sword which striking first on the Table hit Capt. Orrill under the left Pap and peircing the pleura enter'd into the Cavity of his Body. The surgeons tho't the wound mortall ; but he is now in a hopefull way of recovery. All the rest of our Company are very well and as for myself I never enjoyd a more perfect state of health.

• I believe you will find my bills on the Company readily comply'd with, but if it should happen otherwise I would not have yourself or Companion in the least discouraged. It will be in my power to make you speedy remittances from India for your ransom, and you need not lose your time in France, where you will find opportunity's of Improvement in all the useful parts of Education. Where ever you are, I recommend to you in the first place a constant regard to serious religion. Consider that tho' absent from me you are allways under the eye of the great Father to whom you must account for your very tho'ts as well as words and actions. Avoid the Temptations to evill as much as possible, and resist them obstinately when you cannot avoid them. Pray daily for the Divine assistance and forget not to ask wisdom for your Conduct in every respect, giving all diligence to keep a Conscience void of offence towards God and towards men. Apply yourself to the study of accounts and mathematicks and learn a little drawing and take some Oppertunitys to learn the Portugese Language<sup>1</sup> which will be absolutely necessary for you in India. Follow your

<sup>1</sup> Portuguese formed the *lingua franca* of the trading settlements of the East at this time, and was used, not merely in trade with Indian merchants, but also as a common means of communication between the English and Dutch factories or Dutch and French.

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Unckle Bedwell's directions in all things whom you are to esteem as your Father. Tho' this is addressed to you singly it is meant Jointly to Edmond with you to whom communicate this, by which he will know I have it in my purpose and doubt not by God's Blessing to have it in my power to make your long voyage turn to a good account for both.

My daily Prayers are for your prosperity in soul and Body.

Your affectionate father,

JOSEPH COLLET.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,

*Febr. 12, 1711/2.*

TO MR. JOHN BEDWELL.

DEAR BROTHER,

I am now almost ready to sail. You will find herewith open letters to severall of my friends which I request you to Inclose and forward. Also a Coppy of my Journall to my departure from Rio de Janario which you may communicate to my particular friends.<sup>1</sup> All this comes by Capt. Raymond of the Desbovery who will on his arrivall in Holland<sup>2</sup> forward them by the Post. Pray place the charge of this Unconscionable packett to my account. I have sent Inclosed my Second bills for £150 on Daniel Dolins Esqr. and for £50 on Mr. Joseph Marlow. I have wrote to the latter by his friend Mr. Pluymer in the Hallifax. I have sent you by Mr. Harris, a passenger in the Desbovery, an Ingott of Gold which I brought in dust from Brasill; it weighs Sixteen Ounces and one quarter Dutch weight which I think the same with our troy. It is finer than Sterling; please to sell it and place the produce to account. I must give you the trouble of sending me a few things by the first ship bound

<sup>1</sup> The original of this volume survives in Miss Collet's possession, labelled "Historical Journal." The journal ends with Collet's departure from Rio, and he seems never to have had spare time afterwards to continue it.

<sup>2</sup> She was sailing home with the Dutch fleet, as security against attack by the French.



for Bencoolen which you will find specified in a Memoriall inclosed. I hope to make you some remittances from Maderass. I desire for reasons you know that the first obligations of mine you pay off may be Mr. Williams and then Mr. Richardson's. When my son and Mr. Bunting return from France I desire you to get Mr. Page's assistance to hasten them out as soon as possible, and let them know that the Humour of Rich Dressings is over in India, and that a plain Genteel habit is more esteemed and may be made as cheap in India as England, except Hatts, Wiggs and Shoes with which they ought to be well stocked. If you have anything to write private I desire you to ask Mr. Giles Dent for a Character<sup>1</sup> which he has by which you may communicate anything not proper to appear in publick and I shall sometimes make use of the same to you.

With due respects to yourself and my sister

I am your most affection't Brother,

and Humble Servant,

JOSEPH COLLET.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,

*Febr. 12, 1711/2.*

A Memoriall of things I desire my Bror. Mr. John Bedwell to send me from London by the first ship bound for Bencoolen.

4 Hatts with Gold Edging.

2 Do. plain.

12 pair Spannish leather Shoes.

1 light full bottom Wigg about £12 value.

1 Do. tyed — — — 8.

1 Ditto Naturall very short — 4.

A very good fowling peice and Bayonett

10 Gallons of Elder Vinagar.

10 Gallons of the best florrence Oyl.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, a cypher.

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- 2 Chests of Pale Beer (where I bought).
- 2 pair Spectacles 1 w. glass 1 green, each to shut up in the compass of one glass the 3rd degree of sight both in one Seal Skin Case.
- 2 pair of Scarlett worsted Stockings.
- 4 pair of the best black Silk Stockings.

*Books.*

The last Edition of the East India Pilot by Thornton in the Minorities.

Capt. Hawley's Observations.

Wingate's Arithmetick. Milton's Poems 2 vol octavo.

Tatlers, the best Edition.

Common Prayer octavo. Tate's psalms, with the Supplement.

A Box of Good Virginia Tobacco.

If any wine some fine Canary or the best red, but that as the account will hold out.

JOSEPH COLLET.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,

Feb. 21, 1711/2.

TO MR. JOHN BEDWELL (own handwriting).

DEAR BRO.,

I wrote you in mine of the 12th Inst. that I had sent you an Ingot of Gold by Mr. Harris but my Charge of Victualling has been so large that I have been obliged to sell it here but you may depend on a remittance of £200 or more by the first ship from Maderass after my arrivall there. Mr. Harris will give you a more particular acct. of my affairs than I can write. I have now finish'd all my business here and shall God willing sail to-morrow.

I am, etc.

FORT ST. GEORGE,

*June 15th, 1712.*

TO MR. JOHN BEDWELL.

DEAR BROTHER,

. . . I find here all things to my satisfaction, and as I have an entire confidence in the Governour, I meet with the same from him ; he has accepted of a Letter of Attorney of Negotiation of my affairs in these parts. You will hear from him at the same time you receive this, I having desired him to remitt you on respondententia<sup>1</sup> by one of the first Ships that sailed from this Port for England four or five hundred Pagodas.

. . . The three weeks that I have passed here I have dispatched a great deal of Business. . . . I have paid the whole sum for my Bills, three thousand five hundred pounds, into their Treasury here. If it should happen that they have not been comply'd with the money will be remitted without risque by the first opportunity, tho' I hope for the Sake of my Son and his Companion that they have been already paid.

It's Governour Harrison's opinion that my Son should come out in the Company's service for Madras, and not to me at Bencoolan ; he can do better for him at this place than I can here, besides that my time of coming hither and that time he arrives will draw on apace.

Besides the business that I mention I have had a fitt of Sickness. A Fever took me so Violently that in Twelve hours it putt me past hopes of recovery and the turn in my favour was almost as quick, for in 4 days I was able to go abroad about business. . . .

Your most affect'e Brother and humble Servant.

<sup>1</sup> *Sc. respondentia*, a loan secured on goods shipped and the personal security of the borrower, but conditional (in India, at all events) on the safe arrival of the vessel in the stipulated port.

FORT ST. GEORGE,  
*June 15th, 1712.*

TO GREGORY PAGE, ESQ.

HON'BLE SIR,

I Parted from the Cape the 27th Feb. last and arrived here the 24th May following, and since my Arrivall having entirely conform'd my self to the Directions which the Hon'ble Govr. Harrison has been so kind as to give me, I have Delivered to the Company their own goods which had been Valued, the Invoice being lost, with a Provision to Correct the Valuation by the Copy of the said Invoice when it shall arrive.

I have also by the Sale of the Ship and Separate part of the Cargoe been enabl'd to pay in so much as together with the said Valuation amounts to Three Thousand and Five Hundred Pounds, being the full sum I drew on them with which Draughts I hope they have comply'd.

If my Bills shou'd not have been paid, I have desir'd Govr. Harrison who has accepted a letter of attorney from me to remitt the money by Bill of Exchange for the redemption of my Hostages.

. . . I must also beg your favour with respect to my son. Governour Harrison is of Opinion that he should come out in the Company's service for this place. . . . If I may take the Liberty to say so I think the Young Traveller will have some pretence of merit to the Company's favour.

I shall write you more at large by Capt. Blow. . . .

I am,

Hon'ble Sir,

Your Hon'rs most Humble Serv't.

P.S.—I had forgot to mention that Mr. Peter Caulier, whom I had made Capt. of the *Jane* at Brazill and arrived with me here in that Quality, being now by my Sale of the Ship out of that Employ and desirous to continue with me in

India, his Qualifications are and his behaviour has been Such as has Engag'd me to recommend him to the Governour and Councill here for the Post of secretary at Bencoolen, which at my request they have been pleas'd to confer on him. If you please to take Notice of this to Sir Gilbert Heathcote<sup>1</sup> who is his very good friend you will very much oblige me.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Mayor of London 1710-11.

## LETTERS : BENCOOLEN

YORK FORT,  
*Sept. 1st, 1712.*

TO SULTAN GUILLAMOTT.<sup>1</sup>

SIR,

I received a letter from you a few days since, by an Express overland ; in which you complain of the Conduct of Some of your Subjects, particularly of Rajah Mansore and Rajah Sillaman, the former refusing you admittance into Manduta, the other attempting to make himself Master of Merrangen, and this as you say in order to rebell. You desire my assistance either in Person, by my Authoritie to determine your differences which you offer to Submitt entirely to my Judgment ; or if I cannot come down, you desire from me a Supply of arms.

In answer to all this, Sir, I am obliged to acquaint you that my Hon'ble Masters are resolved to have their affairs on this Coast managed in a manner very different from what they have been of late years. They have given me positive Orders not to concern my Self in the Affairs of Government or in the Quarrells of any of the Natives, and I do assure you, Sir, that as my Orders will not permitt me to assist you in the Warr, so neither will I assist any that shall oppose you.

I suppose when both Sides are weary of warr you will have Peace restored and then I shall be ready to give you Dollars for your Pepper, which is all the Business I will have to do with any of the Natives.

I am, Sir, Your Humble Servant.

<sup>1</sup> Sultan of Manduta, near the English settlement of Bantal. Cf. Marsden, *History of Sumatra* (1st ed.), p. 287 and n.

YORK FORT, BENCOOLEN,  
*the 6th 7ber, 1712.*

TO THE HON<sup>BLE</sup> EDWARD HARRISON, ESQ.,  
PRESID<sup>T</sup> AND GOVERNOUR OF FORT ST. GEORGE.  
HON<sup>BLE</sup> SIR,

. . . [Business details.]

I ought to return your Honour thanks for the two Ladys you sent me, but I find no body here very well pleased with the present. Mr. Parker requests me to send his Wife to England by the first Ship which I shall be sure to do. I design him for Bantall together with Mr. Hunter. As for the other Couple, I own I shou<sup>d</sup> be glad to be rid of them both together, for I know not one thing the man is good for, except to contradict himself, and to offer his Oath as to both parts of the Contradiction. As to the Gentlemen here Mr. Hunter has I believe been a faithfull servant to the Company and upon the utmost Enquiry I can yet make, I believe to the private Trust reposed in him, tho' not a Polite man nor perfectly Master of Trade and not at all of accounts yet I take him to be a man of Prudence and integrity.

Mr. White is a Young man ; he appears to be carefull and diligent, is already a tolerable accountant, and will I believe in time be a usefull man.

Mr. Lloyd is a man that understands the World, knows how to be upon the resarve,<sup>1</sup> and I will not yet pretend to give a perfect Character of him.

Our Generall letter will give you so full an account about Kingsley's and Stotherd's affairs, whose personall characters you already know, that I shall say nothing here about them.

. . . My Dependance is entirely on your Honour for the management of my affairs. Relating to the Company, I am so fully convinc'd of your real Friendship towards me, that I shall say no more on that head, but endeavour to acknowledge my obligations by constantly approving myself to be  
Your Honour's most Obedient Humble Servant.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the clerk's way of pronouncing it.

YORK FORT,

TO THOMAS FREDERICK, ESQ.

6th 7ber, 1712.

WORSHIPFUL SIR,

. . . [Business details.]

As to the Private matters recommended to me in yours of the 4th June last, as also in yours in Company with Mrs. Ettrick's of the same Date, you will find by the General letter and Copy of Consult'n that I have taken all imaginable care to enquire, and that upon Oath, into the conduct of the gentlemen concerned in the Deceas'd<sup>e</sup> Mr. Ettrick's affairs.<sup>1</sup> I have not yet had time to Examine the accounts thoroughly, but so far as I have gone I must in my own Conscience and to all the World acquitt these Gentlemen of the Vile aspersions cast upon them, firmly believing they have acted with integrity throughout the whole. I hope by the next Conveyance, which probably may arrive before this, to send you a perfect account of that affair, together with the books which I believe will entirely be to your satisfaction.

I have discoursed with Mr. Wm. Ettrick about his right to an Estate of about £300 a yeare. He tells me the Case stands thus—That there is an Estate in Dorsetshire of that Value, and that his uncle Mr. Ettrick of the Temple Purchased three lives in the said Estate, vizt. his own, Govr. Ettrick deceas'd and his, the said Mr. Ettrick's. He adds that one Mr. Gerrard comeing hither in a Bengall Ship and lately from England told him, that his said uncle of the Temple was Dead, and that this is all the information he has had of the matter. He says he does not think this Account sufficient to justifie his quitting the Company's service and returning to England, but is willing to wait for better information from his friends there, whose Interest it is to give him timely advices of such a matter.

I am with all Respect,

Worshipful Sir,

• Your Humble Servant.

<sup>1</sup> Anthony Ettrick, late deputy-governor of York Fort on the West Coast of Sumatra.



YORK FORT,  
*Sept. 18th, 1712.*

TO MR. JOSEPH HARDING.<sup>1</sup>

HONOURED SIR,

. . . One Emperor (or Sultan) and several Kings profess themselves our Subjects, and as I have had severall Conferences with them, I always treat them as my Inferiors. They always attend me, sending first for leave. They have severall times invited me to Entertainments which I have always refused to accept. In short I put on all the airs of a Superior soften'd by affability in Conversation and an easy Access.

\* As to Religion I have publick Prayers and a Sermon every Lord's Day. . . . I look on myself here as acting a part no matter whether that of a Prince or Peasant. So I perform it well, I am then sure to receive my reward in that place where I doubt not you will meet

Honoured Sir,  
 Your Obedient Son.

YORK FORT,  
*Sept. 19th, 1712.*

TO MR. SAMUELL MORELAND.

SIR,

. . . At length I have gained the Port and tho' engaged in a hurry of Business both civell and military on my arrivall, I cannot omit this first Oppertunity of returning my Acknowledgment to the Royall Society, for admitting me a Member of their Body. I am very sensible of the Honour done me, and shall lay hold of every Occasion to approve myself in some measure worthy their Choice.

I beg the favour of you, Sir, to acquaint the Society with

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Harding was stepfather of Joseph's late wife Mary Ross.

these my Sentiments, and to assure them in my Name that I shall constantly communicate what Observations I can make in this part of the World, in any Measure worthy their Notice.

I thank you for the kind offer of a Personall Correspondence which shall always be maintained with reall respect by

Sir,

Your Humble Servant.

YORK FORT,

*Sept. 19th, 1712.*

TO MRS. MARY QUINCY.

DEAR SISTER,

. . . I find this Country vastly different from the accounts usually given of it in England. Our Fort indeed stands in a Swamp which can't be very wholesome. But the Country all about and even within half musquett shott of us is as pleasant as you can imagine. The Mallay Town adjoining to our Fort stands on a Bank of a fine navigable river, and consists of about seven or eight hundred houses, each containing a numerous Family. On the other side of us near the Sea stands a small Village inhabited by the Company's Slaves. Advancing a little further you come into charming Fields each consisting of a small Hill encompass'd by a [? tour] of Trees that are ever Green. The Soyl is luxuriant, the Grass fresh and verdant, even now the Sun is just over our heads, and grows higher and in greater plenty than ever I saw it in England. At a Distance one would take it for Standing Corn waving in the wind. In the low Grounds, the Inhabitants plant their rice, which is here very good, and the Industrious get three Crops in the Yeare.

The Heats here are very moderate, we have less rain than falls in England, I hear very little Thunder. But I have felt severall Earthquakes, however they give me no

Surprise. I have smiled to see the old Westcoasters change countenance and run out of the room when the House has shook pretty much.

The Extent of my Government is about Three Hundred Miles in Length. Here are Six or Seven Garrisons under my Command. This and Bantall have Forty or Fifty Guns each. Severall Kings profess themselves to be our Subjects. I always receive them with the forms and air of a Superiour. They tell me I am a good Man and they pray for my life daily. I treat them as a Wise man shou'd his Wife, am very complaisant in trifles, but immoveable in matters of importance.

At Madras I had a Violent feaver, and in my Voyage from thence I suffered the Iliac Passion<sup>1</sup> and both to such a degree as that my life was desper'd of. I arrived here the 10th of the last month in a very weak Condition. But I thank God I am now in as perfect health as Strong and have as good an Appetite as ever in my life.

I have a Prospect of serving the Company to their Content, and I hope my Private affairs may go on well enough to satisfy a man neither covetous nor Prodigall. However I have now try'd so much both of Prosperity and Adversity that I fear neither.

I am pleased to hear of my Daughter Betty's Proficiency, and thank you for your care to improve her mind as well as Direct her hands. I hope she will alwaies be a fitt Pattern for her Sisters' imitation and that they will always take care to follow the Example.

You will have fresher news from my Brother John than I can send you. He was last October in good health at Gombooroon<sup>2</sup> in Persia. I have spoke with several Gentlemen who saw him there.

Pray tell my Brother<sup>3</sup> I am glad to hear he is still in favour with Doctor Mead,<sup>4</sup> and finds some encouragement

<sup>1</sup> I suppose, colic.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, Mrs. Quincy's husband.

<sup>2</sup> Gombroon, or Bandar Abbas.

<sup>4</sup> The famous physician, who first practised in Hackney, where perhaps the Collet Circle came in contact with him.

in his new business. I heartily wish him good Success and that he may never lose his new friends in the manner he lost his old ones.

Now my Dear Sister I wish for a Day's Conversation with you, 'tis with difficulty I get time to dictate these short hints. I constantly rise between five and six, and often sit up to eleven without being able to gain Ten minutes of that time to my self, so much am I as yet press'd with the Company's affairs.

I heartily wish you and yours all Prosperity and hope shortly for an Opportunity to contribute more than bare Wishes towards it. In the meane time accept the assurance that I am

My Deare Sister,

Your most affectionate Brother.

YORK FORT,

*22nd September, 1712.*

HONOURED MOTHER,

. . . I am now to acknowledge the Goodness of God in giving so great a turn to the accidents which befel me, that those things which seemed to threaten my Ruin, have proved advantageous. He has conducted me in Safety hitherto, and now gives me Peace, Health, and Success in my affairs.

I doubt not the same Mercy will attend you, and mine that are with you, whom I remember dayly in my Prayers.

I expect my Son is either with you before this, or else very quickly will be so. I have lodged the whole value of his and his Companion's ransom in the hands of the Governour of Fort St. George, who will pay the value into the Company's hands if they have redeem'd Them, or else remit it directly to France on my account.

I wish you all happiness and hope you may have pleasure once more of seeing in this world

Your Obedient Son.

YORK FORT,  
22nd Sept., 1712.

MRS. ELIZABETH COLLET.

MY DEAR BETTY,<sup>1</sup>

I have at last got yours of the 21st November, tho' I have been oblig'd to take a ramble almost round the world to come at it. I was once in a fair way to have been brought back again, but your Brother saved me that Labour, whom I doubt not by this time you will find an accomplish'd monsieur. You will find by my letter to your Aunt Quincy that I find this place abundantly better than my expectation, and that I have great hopes of enjoying a constant health.

I am glad you observe my Instructions I sent you from Portsmouth to which I can add nothing, but my Prayers to God for a Blessing upon you.

Tell your Sisters that, when they can write to me, they may expect a particular answer from me. In the meane time I am theirs and your

Most Affectionate Father.

YORK FORT,  
22nd Sept., 1712.

TO MR. SAMUEL COLLET.

DEAR BROTHER,

. . . I own the Earthquakes here are pretty frequent and dreadfull enough to a man that has not pretty well thought of, and prepar'd for an invisible state. I have felt severall shocks and one of them, when sitting in Council, shook the house so much that the Table and things on it as well as the Chairs we sat on were all in motion and some of the Councill were so much frighted as to get up and run out of the room. I cannot say that I felt the least surprize,

<sup>1</sup> Collet's daughter, Elizabeth, was born 9th April, 1699, and had therefore completed her 13th year. Her sisters were: Mary Collet, 10 years old (Born 23rd Jan., 1702); Ann Collet, 8 years old (Born 11th Nov., 1703); Henrietta Collet, 7 years old (Born 6th Feb., 1705).

but on the contrary smiled at them for running away, when the shock was over before they cou'd reach the stairs.

. . . As to the affairs of my Government they go on very well. I have great hopes of answering both the Company's ends and my own, but both will require time. A reformation of generall corruptions is not to be done at once, and as for private profit I have already taken methods to cut off three-quarters of what my Predecessors used to make, but I am of the old farmer's mind—a little honestly got will wear well.

I cannot but feel a great deal of regret at the sad accounts yourself and others give me of the State of Trade in England. I grieve to see so many great names upon the Exchange, sunk to nothing. I shall be glad to find that your expected Peace gives a new turn to mercantile affairs. If Spain be recover'd from the House of Bourbon, I dare predict that the Exchange of London will raise its proud Tower to a greater height. Otherwise I fear my native Country must become tributary or worse to the Royall Treaty-breaker.

One part of your letter makes me very merry and that is to see a British Parliament wise enough to reconcile contradictions and make the restraint of Liberty of conscience a Confirmation of the Act of Toleration. If the Laity in England are advanc'd so far 'tis to be supposed your Clergy are almost ripe for Transubstantiation. But you'll say, What have I to do with religion? Truly not very much here. In my passage from Madras I used now and then to dispute with Father Dom John Milton, a Priest of the Theatine Order, who is come over hither to absolve some of my Catholick Soldiers that they may have courage enough to stand to be knock'd on the head when I bid them.<sup>1</sup> But the Punch bole commonly decided the controversy, for he always retreated to the Authority of the Church, while I

<sup>1</sup> The Sumatra establishment included a "Portuguese padre," so called, I suppose, not because he was necessarily a Portuguese, but because the garrison was in part composed of Portuguese half-castes, all Roman Catholics. At Madras itself there was a Capuchin church in the Fort.

was entrenched up to the chin in Scripture. However the good old man was very tender and carefull of me in my Sickness, and I must say that I think my life in a great measure owing to him.

I have had opportunity to observe some inconveniences which attend Women in long Voyages, and have so far alter'd my sentiments on that head, that I wou'd never advise a friend of mine to carry a Wife or Daughter to India, unless he was a person of the first Rank, and cou'd command on board the Ship as if it were his own and even then it wou'd be troublesome enough.

I do not find that this place affords any encouragement to persons out of the Company's service. I know of nobody but a Taylor that has been able to do anything in that circumstance. A Factor's Post is only an introduction to business, and I have effectually destroy'd almost all the perquisites of their respective offices, for which you may be sure I have the dayly Prayers of the People. Madras has room for action, there are a great many Posts of Profit without picking the Company's Pocket. There I cou'd give a friend encouragement to come over. Here I could not do much, how much soever I were dispos'd to it.

I am glad to hear of my Sister's welfare. I heartily wish you and yours all Prosperity, and am

Your most Affectionate Brother.

YORK FORT,  
*Sept. 22nd, 1712.*

TO THE REV<sup>D</sup>. MR. NATHANIELL HODGES.<sup>1</sup>

DEAR NAT,

If I thought my not writing to you wou'd give you a speedy opportunity of giving me a cast of your office, you

<sup>1</sup> Silenced as a preacher by the Schism Act. Three of his sermons are in the British Museum. He was afterwards knighted.

shou'd not receive a line from me till you had done your Duty. But since that is not likely to be in a little time, I shall vouchsafe you a line or two by my amanuensis.

I can easily believe that there is some very great alteration in the Air in England. The signs of something extraordinary appeare from head to foot, no wonder if your Poets share the common infection. I shall send you at the bottom of this some lines compos'd since my arrival here, that you may judge, if you have any judgment left, whether Sir Richard or myself be the madder of the two.

I should have presented your Service to the Princes your name, but that I find you so very ignorant of them, that I am sure they can't have much knowledge of you. The King of Achin is a Woman, the rest Sultans, Pangrans, Rajahs or Datta's.<sup>1</sup> As for the King of Achin, I have as yet had no conversation with her. As for the Sultan I design to enclose a Specimen of our manner of Conversation. Of all the other sorts I have had severall attending my Levee, for you must know there is a good number of them live within the Limits of my Government. . . . If you can find nothing else to do, but to come and cool yourself here I'll assign you as much Land as you will undertake to cultivate, and you shall in requitall only Transfer one or two of your manors in England, and let me tell you that you have not a finer Situation in any one of them than my Country house here.

You may expect a little more in mine to Dic Ipse.<sup>2</sup> I assure you I had not much time to throw away upon you singly, having two Ships on my hand to dispatch, abundance of Reformation work to go through, which is indeed Something the easier because I have never a Parson here.

. . . The only Regret I feel is occasioned by the Separation

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the description of the political state of Sumatra, *ap.* Marsden, *History of Sumatra* (1st ed.), pp. 175 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> 'Dic Ipse' was a small club, or study-group as we should call it, devoted to religious subjects. Known members besides Collet, were Hodges himself, and the persons specially mentioned in the following letter.



from my friends amongst whom none has a deeper share than your Self in the love and esteem of

Your most affectionate Friend.

My Humble Service to Mrs. Hodges and to the Colonel.

Memorandum. Sent enclosed Sultan Guillamett's letter with a Translation, and my answer of the 22nd inst.

YORK FORT,  
23rd Sept., 1712.

TO DIC IPSE.

My Dear, both yours of the 10th January last got heare almost a month before me. . . . In Requittall for the long history you give me of Publick Affairs in Church and State, I shall give you a short account of my Procedure from the Cape hitherto.

As to my Progress in business here. . . . I have begun with matters of the greatest Importance. I have been obliged to some severities unknown here and yet at the same time wisht for a Power to inflict greater Penalties. One I have confin'd, another I have broke for lewdness and cowardness, and shall send them both for England in the Ship this comes by, together with a couple of infamous Women.

I have also shewn favour to some that have been faulty in less Degree who profess'd their Repentance and promised amendment. . . .

I find myself oblig'd to ride with a very strait rein, having already cut off three parts in four of the perquisites and proffitts arising as well from the Governour's as all other inferior Posts. You may be sure this makes the losers Uneasy. . . .

Perhaps you have a mind to know the little trifles of life that are different here from my former fashions. . . . About

7 I eat a good breakfast of bread and butter and Bohea Tea. And note by the way that my Butter does not come much short of yours made at Hackney. I then sett to work till Twelve, either in Councill if there be occasion to call one, or in my own Chamber. At 12 I tiff, that is eat a (—) of boiled Chicken or Pidgeon, Crawfish, Crabbs, or Prawns, all excellent in their kind, or some good relishing bit, and Drink a good Draught out of the Punch-bowle. Then Dinner enters which always consists of 4 or 5 Dishes. We drink moderately at Table, take a Pipe for Digesting and then to work again. If I find it possible to get so much time, I go out at 4 and either ride or walk till six. If I ride I have a Horse Guard attending me and the Union Flag carry'd before me. I have also a foot Guard of Buggess<sup>1</sup> Soldiers who generally keep way with me. If I walk, I have 4 men with Blunderbusses go before and a Guard of Buggess to bring up the rear. If I dine abroad or shou'd lye out of the Fort, which I have not yet done, the number of my Guard is encreased.

At six I come home and sitt again and then to Supper. I take a Pipe or two with a chearfull Glass and then to my Chamber, where I either sit to business or what else is proper before my going to bed. I have two servants and two slaves of my own, one of them a female too, but not a present of any king, as our friend Mr. Leigh waggishly inform'd us. However to prevent scandal I keep her in another Family where she works for me, ironing etc. but never comes into my house. And let me tell you a very little share of Virtue is sufficient to secure a man from all the Female Charms in this place. Here are but 4 White Women, two of which as I told you before come home with this. Of the other two one of them is now actually kept Dark, Blounded etc. and the other is a Woman of the most indifferent personage but yet of consummate virtue. I have not heard the lest blemish of any part of her character. The

<sup>1</sup> Properly *Bugis*, the Malay name for the dominant race of Celebes, but applied by Europeans to all native troops raised anywhere in the archipelago.

rest are all blacks and a man that ventures on them seldom fails to gett the Bencoolen feaver.

All the People that have dyed here since my arrivall which are but few, have apparently been destroy'd by Drinking or Women. There has not one of our private centinells been buried these 10 months which I ascribe to their not having the oppertunity of Drinking so deep as their betters. . . .

. . . The Mallay Town adjoining to our Fort consists of seven or eight hundred houses full of Inhabitants. The country all about us is indifferently Peopled. . . .

Tell Don John that if I had him here a little while he would find himself perfectly cur'd of the Hyppo. As for Natt he is witt enough to get Artillery to cannonade me withall from (? heaven). Richard Gyles is semper idem perfectly *in statu quo* tho' if I had him here I cou'd lead him to amorous shades if he had even an imaginary Dulcinea to entertain his mind, for I have already told you there is no Object here to excite the amorous fire. He tells me his master is also still the same man, which I am glad of, because I can hardly think he can change for the better except in the Pockett. As for the Gentleman that Supplies my Place, if he keep his wonted Mirth and Gravity he will certainly do well in the Southern Regions as well as myself.

I can't help giving you the trouble of giving two or three humble services from me. Pray tell Mr. Burras I thank him for his civell compliment and shou'd be glad to receive a letter from him. Monumas has wrote to me but I am forc'd to be as sparing of my answer as possible, having hardly time for the necessary refreshments of life. I desire Gyles to present my service to Mr. Raper and to lett him know I had the misfortune to lose his kind present, part amongst the Portegueze and part amongst the French. Pray tell Mr. Masters that I think of him daily, and shall if possible write by this Conveyance.

I am call'd to sitt and can stay to talk no longer than whilst I assure you that I am entirely

Yours.

YORK FORT,  
*Sept. 24th, 1712.*

TO MESSRS. THOMAS AND JOHN HOLLIS.

SIRS,

. . . I am now sending a Gentleman, almost the only man of Honour I have found here, who was Provisional Governour at my arrivall to be Chief at Bantall, a Factory and Garrison about 30 leagues to the Northward. He informs me, the greatest Plenty of good Canes are in those parts, and he will undertake to get them ready time enough for the next Shipping. . . .

As to matters of Religion, I have been here so short a time that I am not able to make an exact Judgment. But I already find the Natives under my Government which extends 300 miles along the Coast are all Mahometins, tho' the inhabitants of the inland parts are said to be Pagans. I am told that these on the Coast are very ignorant and very positive, and withall so much addicted to Women that if Christianity were much better set off by the lives of its Professours than it has hitherto been in these parts, yet without a miracle it would be almost impossible to overcome their gross ignorance, deep prejudices and headstrong lust.

. . . When better inform'd, I shall give you a more particular account for I assure you I have still the same regard and the same desires tho' not the same hopes in this affair as when I left you.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Your Hum'ble Serv't.

YORK FORT,

TO MR. JOHN BEDWELL.

*Sept. 24th, 1712.*

DEAR BROTHER,

. . . At length through G<sup>o</sup>d's mercy I landed safely at this place, August 10th, and now find my health and strength perfectly restablish'd.

I brought with me a large military supply, and have Power enough to make myself feared. This I take care shou'd be sufficiently known, but at the same time chuse to treat the Natives in such a manner as they may love me and confide in me. I have already redressed their grievances and have Punished the only Survivor of those who had imbru'd their hands in the natives' blood, with the utmost Severity in my Power.

. . . I have paid your Bill to Mr. Hunter for Fifty pound sterling; and acknowledge it was a Seasonable Service done me. I have acknowledged it to him both in words and actions to the best of my Power. But at my first Arrivall I am oblig'd to double Caution and under my Government strong Liquors are not like to be so valuable here, as they have been formerly.

. . . As to the money I expect you will receive from Govr. Harrison on my Account, I wou'd in the first place have my Girls supply'd with Necessarys till you come to receive my Salary, and my Son and his Companion brought home from France and fitted out. If there shou'd be anything remaining, I wou'd have Mr. Williams and Mr. Richardson first paid.

You must demand my Salary from the 23rd July last, When I came to an Anchor with the Union Flagg at the Maintopmast Head in the Road of Bantall and entered on the administration of my Government. . . .

. . . Many little particulars you will find contain'd in the letter to Dic Ipse. Pray deliver it to Mr. Hodges, Mr. Stennet, or Mr. Dent. I shall add a Postscript and therefore now take leave abruptly with the assurance that I am

Your most affectionate Brother.

YORK FORT,

TO MRS. ANN BEDWELL.

*Sept. 24th, 1712.*

DEAR SISTER,

Now I am got home I cannot omitt addressing one letter to your self directly. You will be inform'd by other

hands of a great many trifling particulars, which I shall not trouble you with, but I have one business which I do not think fit to trust anybody with but my Brother and yourself, and I think it better wrote to yourself than him. This you will say is a very odd Compliment from a Person whom you have long known to be your real Friend and who acknowledges himself to lye under innumerable obligations.

I mean the affair of N. R.<sup>1</sup> who you know resented my not bringing him with me. I must tell you frankly that if he were here, I shou'd not know what to do with him. He is not capable of any Post fit for a Relation of mine to appear in and I shou'd not care to see him in a place so mean as would barely afford him bread. I do not see how he could in this place get thirty pounds per annum. But I will say no more on this melancholy head, which grieves me whilst I write it.

I will not ask you to take some care of my poor Girls, I dare trust your friendship. But I shou'd be glad to hear from your Self how they proceed. Virtue and a good education will never fail them. I have found that all things else may.

I find the place so much better than it has been represented that I doubt not having one day an Oppertunity of telling you to your Face that I am under many obligations.

Yr. Affectionate Brother  
and Humble Servant.

YORK FORT,  
16th October, 1712.

TO GREGORY PAGE, ESQ.

HON'D. SIR,

. . . I arrived at this Place the 10th August. Since my arrival I have met with all the success in the management of the Company's affairs that I cou'd reasonably hope for.

<sup>1</sup> 'N. R.' was Nathaniel Ross, brother of Collet's late wife, and half-brother or stepbrother of Ann Bedwell, *née* Harding.

. . . 'Tis true I meet with some difficultys ; tho' I have gained the Love of the Natives, I think I am rather fear'd by the English. Their reformatiions of every kind, that I must go through with render them uneasy ; they can neither get money at the old rate, nor have the Countenance of their Superiour's Example in Spending it as they used to do. As for the Military I keep them at too great a Distance to give them an oppertunity of making me uneasy, and indeed I take care to let them all know, that while I do not exceed the due bounds of my Authority, I will be obey'd. Here are two Gentlemen whose assistance I depend on, Mr. Yarbrough who is a man of honour seconds me in all things and as he is truly desirous to promote the Company's Interest, I am confident we shall never differ in the administration of their Affairs. Mr. Connell is a young Gentleman come with me from Madras having been there constituted a Factor in the Company's Service. I can confide in him, and design him to succeed Mr. Caulier as Secretary here, who desires leave to return to England on account of his Indisposition.

I unwillingly part with Mr. Caulier, whom I have now known for some time, and have found him both a man of Sense and Honour ; he makes just reflections on his former youthfull follies, has already chang'd his course of life, and seems resolv'd to apply himself with all industry to a life of business. I take the Liberty to write thus particularly concerning him because I know you are intimately acquainted with those Gentlemen on whom he most depends.<sup>1</sup>

I must take the Liberty still to recommend my Interest to your care. There are two things which I refer to your consideration. One is, that whereas the Company have thought fit to entitle me to one hundred pound a year Gratuity, if my Service is approved of, whether the said Gratuity (which seems to be reserv'd till the expiration of the time agreed on) may not, if it shou'd sooner appear that

<sup>1</sup> A namesake and probably a relation of Peter Caulier was appointed to the Sumatra Council in 1720.

my Actions deserve it, be paid me yearly, as the rest of my Salary, for my Encouragement, especially considering the Difficulties and Hazards I have already gone thro'. If you should be of Opinion that the Company wou'd comply with such a Proposal I entreat the favour of you to move it.

The other is, a matter of less Importance, but of the same kind. When I left Madras Govr. Harrison advis'd me to make a present of a Hundred Dollars to Capt. Blow for my Fresh Provisions and place it to the Company's account. I have done the first, but being doubtful how the Company might take such a Liberty I have not charg'd it. If you should find the first Proposall practicable, I think this too small to take notice of, I leave it entirely to your Determination who are capable of making a much better judgment than myself.

In the two Last articles Mr. Yarborough is in the same Circumstances with myself, and probably his friends may be put in mind of it by him. If both or either appear adviseable I doubt not this affair will be managed in Concert.

I once again humbly recommend my Son to your Protection. Govr. Harrison has assur'd me of being a Father to him at Madras, if he be sent thither in the Company's Service.

I have received yours by Capt. Keble whom I have already serv'd and shall continue to serve to the utmost of my Power.

I am

Under innumerable obligations,

Sir,

Your most obedient Serv't.

I have given Capt. Blow money to buy  $\frac{1}{2}$  Leag'n of Arrack at Batavia which he promises to deliver you and of which I request your acceptance.



YORK FORT,

16th October, 1712.

TO FRANCIS MOLINEUX, ESQ.

SIR,

I am quite tir'd with rambling tho' I make a tolerable mariner. . . .

I find here there has been more villany and folly than I cou'd expect to have found amongst Englishmen, and yet I do not doubt fully answering the Company's expectations having already much out done my own. A man that has no business and does not love books wou'd have a very ill time of it here, the Conversation runs lower than you could imagine. And for Ladies I'll tell you in what Condition we are. There are but 5 White things in Petticoats upon the Coast, one I am sending away with her husband, tho' she petitions to stay behind in the Quality of Nurse alias Bawd. Another is sent away by her husband with my consent because she is so free of Tongue, Tale and Hands that the poor man can't live in quiet with her. A third is non-compos and actually confin'd to a Dark room and straw. A 4th is really a good Wife and a modest Woman but the malicious say, that her person never provok'd any one yet to ask her the question. The 5th is a young Widow suppos'd to have a little money, of the rt. St. Helena breed, as well shap'd as a Madagascar Cow,—and so much for Women. You have got upon a Common<sup>1</sup> well stored with them. I thought to have sent you a Fan that you might learn the modern Discipline in the use of that Instrument; but not being able to get one I like, I have sent you by Captn. Blow a pair of China Dressing boxes, as proper for Billetsdoux as if made in Convent Garden. But I forgot that you are turn'd Statesman and up to the Ears in Wigg and Tory at St. Steven's Chappell. You would very much oblige me with an account how you spend your time, whether you second

<sup>1</sup> Wimbledon Common. Francis Molineux was the 2nd son of Sir Francis Molineux, 4th Bart. of Teversall.

that worthy member's Motion or Gaze on the charming fair,  
or perhaps unite the Politician and Lover in the same Piece.  
If so I wou'd yet hope to find a little room to remember, Sir,

Your very humble Servant.

TO FRANCIS MOLINEUX, ESQ.

AT TEVERSALL NEAR MANSFIELD  
IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

YORK FORT,

*Oct. 16th, 1712.*

TO MR. JOHN TRAVERS.

SIR,

I think myself oblig'd to lay hold of every opportunity  
at this Distance of acknowledging the many obligations your  
Friendship has laid on me. . . .

I shall not trouble you with a long detail of particulars,  
but refer you to my Bro. Bedwell. I desire you to acquaint  
Mr. Lock and Mr. Goddard that I am very far from forgetting  
the obligations I live under to them and it shall not  
be long, God granting Life and Health before they and you  
hear from me in another manner. Pray present my hearty  
Respects to Mr. Lowman and your Daughter. By next  
Conveyance He may expect a particular address.

I am, etc.

YORK FORT,

*Octobr. 22nd, 1712.*

TO THE HON'BLE EDWARD HARRISON, ESQ.

PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR, ETC., OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

HON'BLE SIR,

. . . I am now pretty confident of being able to answer  
the Company's Expectations of enlarging the Pepper Trade  
to their Content. But instead of lessening the Expense I  
shall increase it. All the Buildings are in such a Condition  
that I am afraid to speake the whole Truth lest I shou'd be

thought very much to Exceed it, but I do assure you that for 7 years to come the charge of supporting this Wretched place will in my opinion be very near equall with Building a New for the Same time.

One thing I must earnestly recommend to your Honour and that is the Supplying me with a few persons, if you can find them that are capable of business and fit to be trusted. Mr. Caulier is going home and to you, Sir, I dare say in Confidence that except Mr. Yarborough and Mr. Connell I cannot trust a man in the place. The trifling differences that were between Mr. Y. and my Self are entirely remov'd. How far he is Qualified for business I believe you know, and I do think him a man of Honour.

. . . I shall be sure to write to your Honr. and always to lay hold on every Opportunity of Assuring You that I am,  
With the utmost Respect,  
Hon'ble Sr.

P.S. I beg the favour of your Honour to send me by the very first conveyance a compleate sett of Gold touches, a pr. of Scales and Weights both Troy and Indian. I have hopes of doing something in that way but want these things for my guidance.<sup>1</sup> It will be better if 4 or 5 p. ct. advantage can be made on returns than to send Dollars or Bills of Exchange.

YORK FORT,  
*October 23rd, 1712.*

TO MR. JOHN BEDWELL.

DEAR BROTHER,

I have sent you annex'd copy of mine to Captn. Blow, who has promised to comply therewith, and to buy in the Tea at the Sale and deliver it to you paying him the Charges

<sup>1</sup> A certain amount of gold dust was obtained from the Sumatra rivers, and Collet meant to deal in this. Such business was usually transacted by an expert called by the Portuguese term *toccador*.

and to accept half the remainder as a present, and to give the rest to my Girls in such manner as you think best.

I thank God I continue very well, and my hopes of success for the Company increase dayly. I have yet no leisure, but amidst the hurry of business have learnt one new Trade, and in a few days must practice another. Last week I turn'd Conjurer and by the help of a parcell of good rattans fetch'd the Devill out of one of my soldiers, the rattans being apply'd in due form to his back by the whole Garrison, after I had pronounced certain words by way of Charm. Next week I must turn Parson, my Third of Councill here is going Chief to Bantall, the Second Factory in my Government, and has a mind to take unto him a Wife, being a Widow of one of his Predecessors of about 18 years old. The Charms of her Person are too terrible to bear a Description, but she has some in her Pocket. Howe'er I must tie the Indissoluble Knot, and make the best of my Common Prayer book. And so much for Parson and Conjurer. By the Success you may expect to hear farther from,

Dear Brother,  
Yr's, etc.

YORK FORT,  
*Nov. 2nd, 1712.*

TO THE REVD. MR. NATH'LL HODGES.

MY DEAR,

The Communications of Friendship are no small relief under pressing afflictions, but they afford the greatest pleasure when flowing Joys are doubled by a joynt participation. Know then without further Preface that I am now making this Reflection on some late Actions that I have been doing Good, or in other Words I have acted becoming the Dignity of my Nature, Imitated my Creatour's Example, and obey'd my Redeemer's Commands.

'Tis not that I have been ador'd with Prostration and have had my feet bath'd with Tears of Joy and Gratitude.

'Tis not that my Knees have been embraced and that even by a Prince as well as Slaves, Whose transporting Joy for Liberty restored depriv'd him of Speech and left him the Power of blessing me, only by Elevated Eyes and falling Tears. 'Tis not that I am dayly pray'd for in various languages and with different Rites by severall Kings, and all their Subjects. In short 'tis not what others think or say of me, but 'tis the Testimony of a good Conscience, and this charming Reflection that a man may be like his maker.

What, my friend, are the Pleasures of the Infinitely perfect Being Whose Goodness like his Essence is extended without bounds. But I am flown beyond my Pitch and lost in the Contemplation. In fact I have given liberty to Slaves, bread to the Hungry and Cloaths to the Naked, have reliev'd the Oppress'd and protected the Innocent. And have Establish'd Peace among different Nations, and am bless'd by all except the Injurious and the Oppressors.

May God grant me still the Power of doing good, and preserve me from the Influence of every Irregular Passion and Appetite that so I may pass with Joy into that State where I shall know no Sorrow.

You see to what Heights my ambition aspires, all other things I look on as means in order to this End.

If I must say something of my own secular Interest, and of my prospect of success for my Masters, know, that if it please God to continue my life a few years, their Expectations from me are like to be much out done by me. And as for my Self, the ends of Justice as a Man, and Duty as a Parent being answer'd, I have no notion of the Difference between a bare Competency and overflowing Wealth.

You, my friend, have a Nobler Theme to talk of. 'Tis still doing Good, but tis good of a higher kind. What I have done indeed reaches to Life, Liberty and Fortune. But what you do, pierces the Inmost Soul, Instructs, reforms, and Inspires with New Principles of Actions, New Hopes and New desires. As your Province therefore is Superior, so may your Assistances, so may your Joys and Comforts be.

Tho' parted by Seas and Continents and various differing Climates, in this we can unite, I mean in the design of Joyously serving our great Maker and that with Emulation too. I will exceed you if I can, for I aim at Perfection. Do your best, we shall the sooner meet, at least in that State which admits of no Imperfection. Farewell my Dear be Greatly Good.

Yr's.

YORK FORT,

*Nov. 6th, 1712.*

TO MRS. ELIZABETH COLLET.

MY DEAR GIRL,

This comes by the Success, Capt. Page Keble, Commander, and will be brought you by Mr. Peter Caulier . . . by whom I have sent you a black Girl named Flora. I bought her in this place and send her a present to your Self. She talks English and can work a little. I have her hitherto in a married family in this place, which is now removing, and to avoid Scandal will not keep her in my house, and tho' I could sell her to large profit, rather choose to send her to you, to whom she may be serviceable. But you must always carry the Authority of a Mistress, and let her know 'tis her Duty to Obey. You must consider her as your Slave, and consequently that you may employ or dispose of her as you please.

I find my Self obliged to an Expence I did not expect in this place. You know I lost all my Cloths at Brazill. At Madrass I made new, and here I grow so fast that I must be oblig'd to part with those and begin again. I never enjoy'd a better state of health than now and doubt not by God's blessing once again to see you.

The gentleman that brings this will also have some trifles for your Sisters ; I don't know what, but such as he can procure by the way, which you must dispose of amongst them.

I dayly find a divine blessing attends me, and doubt not

my Dear, if you persevere in Piety, you will always find the Same. None that put their trust in God and lived according to his Laws were ever confounded, tho' they may have been afflicted.

A good Conscience is a Support in adversity, and Improves every circumstance of Prosperity. Depend on my experience ; God is a present help in time of trouble and multiplies his mercies to those who fear him.

. . . Do you present my Duty to my Mother, Love to my Sister, and to all my Girls, whom I now reckon under your care and be sure to let me here from you by all Opportunities. I pray God bless you all in Soul and body.

Your affectionate Father.

P.S. I have also sent you a Patch<sup>1</sup> of fine Maslipettam Chints which you may wear or dispose of at pleasure. I have also sent a piece of fine muslin which is for your Self and Sisters together, and will serve to make headcloths, etc.

J. C.

YORK FORT,

*Nov. 8th, 1712.*

TO MRS. ANN BEDWELL.

DEAR SISTER,

. . . This comes on the Success by my friend Mr. Peter Caulier, who was Captain of the Jane whilst I was Owner of her. He had promised to deliver this into your own hands, and withall to give you a particular account of my Rambles in which for a good while he has been my Companion.

He will also deliver you a small Snuff box made of gold with a lid of Jasper Stone, the mettall and workmanship of this country. Perhaps being brought so far you may esteem it, or if not for that reason you will at least esteem it for the Sender's Sake. If here were ever a Graver, I wou'd have

<sup>1</sup> A "patch" seems to have been a double-piece. Chintzes were usually printed in short lengths, so that more than one length would go to the piece of plain cloth on which they were printed.

had the Motto wrote on a paper in the box Engraved at the bottom.

If the hazard of the Thames be not greater than that of the Sea, he may chance to bring you a pound of White Pepper that you may see all the produce of this Island yet come to my hand.

He has also a few things for my Girls of which he will give you an account.

Don't grutch me the pleasure of reading a line under your own hand, which will be an addition to that I receive on hearing of your Welfare by my Brother.

I am, Dear Sister,

Your affectionate Brother  
and Humble Serv't.

YORK FORT,  
*Nov. 8th, 1712.*

TO CAPT. HUGH RAYMOND.

SIR,

By the Toddington I advis'd you of my safe arrivall here, and take this Oppertunity by Mr. Caulier to continue my correspondence with you. He will inform you at large of my present Circumstances as well as of his own. He has hopes of finding friends in the Court of Directors, and possibly may obtain a ship, or some other good Employment under them. I desire your friendship towards him and doubt not that both for his Father's sake and his own, you will give him some assistance. You will find him cur'd of his youthfull follies and ready to discharge faithfully any Trust repos'd in him.<sup>1</sup>

I claim the performance of your promise in giving me an account of the State of Affairs in Leadenhall Street, and particularly what the Gentlemen there say of

Sir,

Your very Humble Serv't.

<sup>1</sup> The same packet contained a warm recommendation of Caulier to Gregory Page, of the Court of Directors.



YORK FORT,  
10th Nov., 1712.

TO MR. SAMUEL COLLET.

DEAR BROTHER,

I wrote to you last month by the Toddington, and now write to you by the Success only to let you see that no ship shall sayl from hence without a line for you.

I have nothing to add, but that I continue in health, grow lusty and that the Company's affairs Prosper in my hands. I will not give you a Character of the Gentlemen I found here. If I had not brought with me one or two I shou'd have grown as melancholy as a cat, but now, what between a multitude of business, a little merry chat with one or two of the said associates, and a little biting raillery upon the old [? Standers] I do pretty well. I forgot to tell you that I now reckon myself about 25 years of age. The Clerk of the Parish where I was born will tell you that I was registered A.D. 1673, but you must bid him correct his Book, for I am really younger than any man upon the place, tho' by that account I shou'd be the eldest. In other respects, I mean as to business etc. you will hardly think me vain when I call my Self their Senior.

I have been writing so long gravely, that you must not wonder if I refer you to some body else for anything of that kind. I shou'd be glad to laugh an hour with you, but much more to have our former uninterrupted Converse. My hearty Respects to my Sister and Wishes for your joynt Prosperity conclude

Your most Affectionate Brother.

YORK FORT,  
Nov. 10th, 1712.

TO GREGORY PAGE, ESQ.

HON'D SIR,

. . . I have now dispatch'd the Success, Capt. Page Keble Commander, before his Demorage commences. I

hope the diligence I have used in Loading two Ships from the Port in so short a time and exceeding the Tonnage in both that they were let for, and one of them without putting the Company to the Expence of a day's Demorage will render the beginning of my Services acceptable to my Masters.

. . . The Malays are not the Brutes they have been represented, they can distinguish between Justice and Villany, Kindness and Cruelty. But for the English I had rather draw a Curtain over their past Action than relate the particulars. I shall only say that the Corruption has been universall and that I have not the least Confidence in any man here except Mr. Yarborough, my 2nd, and Mr. Connell whom I brought from Madrass and have now made Secretary here.

I must entreat you if Possible to send me some usefull hands. I assure you they have very few to spare at Madrass, and I would be glad to bring up some in the business here that may be fit to carry on the improvement I hope to make before I leave this place. . . .

YORK FORT,

*Nov. 14<sup>th</sup>, 1712.*

TO THE REVD. MR. MOSES LOWMAN.<sup>1</sup>

MY DEAR,

I won't trouble you with History but leave you to be inform'd by other hands, when I had my Larboard and when my Starboard tacks on board. I must talke with you as I used to do, and can't help saying you had a truer Notion of mankind than my Self before my ramble to this side of the world.

I thought that men were reasonable Creatures, and capable of being Influenced by Principles of Reason, Justice and Gratitude.

You urg'd the Generall Practice of Mankind to the

<sup>1</sup> See biography in *D.N.B.*

Contrary. I knew many were corrupted, but did not believe the Corruption so universall as you apprehended. I am now convinced that you came much more short of the Truth than I did of agreeing with your Sentiments.

I will not enter into the details, but in short, English, French, Portegueze, Brasilians, Africans, Dutch, Moores, Indians of many Sorts are (almost) all alike. I would to God I could make more than a very few Exceptions, after having in some measure tried them all.

This Experience has entirely alter'd my schemes of Government. I try first to oblige, and when that fails, I make all under me know that I will be obey'd. I gradually work on the severall affections, Gratitude, Hope and Fear, and find Springs to move them all.

. You will not suspect me of being Influenced by the Examples I meet with. I rather guard on the other Side against growing morose or precise. No man dares be profane, obscene or intemperate before me, and for the rest I carry it with chearfullness and freedom. In matters of Justice I am inexorable and hope by an early Severity to prevent the frequent occasions of Punishments, and yet where faults are not aggravated I take proper occasions of Clemency.

As to the Art of Governing by Parties, much less Experience than I have had would serve my turn. The united cunning of the Old West-coasters would be much below my match.

But above all, I find a blessing from God attend me. He gives me wisdom and courage equall to my wants, and makes all things prosper under me. In Him my trust is fix'd, and I am sure I shall never be ashamed of that trust.

I have told you my Politicks, do you tell me those at home, and you will oblige

Your most Affectionate.

YORK FORT,

TO MR. JOHN HUNTER,  
CHIEF AT BANTALL.*Xber 3rd, 1712.*

SIR,

. . . I heartily congratulate your safe arrivall on shoare, and am glad to hear that you have a good prospect of success in our private affairs, not in the least doubting either your Diligence or your fidelity.

I am not at all Surpriz'd at your Complaints both of the place and People ; it was what I expected, it wou'd give you some trouble effectually to reform all things ; but Prudence, Courage and Constancy will at last prevail.

As to my little Charge<sup>1</sup> she visits me dayly. I wou'd fain understand her Prattle, but cannot make myself Master of her Language. She is in very good health, and whilst under my care shall want nothing in my Power to provyde for her.

As to Mrs. Saunders.<sup>2</sup> Since no Will can be found it is absolutely necessary for her to take out Letters of Administration and then to send her P're of Attorney to you by which you will have full Power to Transact all her Affairs at Bantall. I shall take care my Self to give her the best advice and all the assistance I can, and will my Self see everything done so as it is Effectuall. . . . I heartily wish you all success in our Masters' affairs and Prosperity in your own. I am,

Sir,

Your Humble Servant. .

*Feb'y 28th, 1712/3.*

TO THE HON'BLE EDWARD HARRISON, ESQ.,

PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR FOR AFFAIRS OF THE HON'BLE  
UNITED ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY IN FORT  
ST. GEORGE.

HON'BLE SIR,

. . . One thing I think necessary to mention to your Honour wherein I find myself oblig'd to Deviate from that

<sup>1</sup> Hunter's daughter, probably by a woman of the country, and speaking one of the Sumatran dialects.

<sup>2</sup> Widow of the late chief of Bantal.

Generall Instruction that all matters especially of Importance should be transacted in Councill, in the matters of the Country Government. As for my Councill, God help them, they know nothing of the matter, and they are not only profoundly ignorant but also sometimes cross and obstinate, tho' they have not yet dar'd to sign a Dissent in Councill, besides some of them are Talkative. So that upon the whole after a little Tryall I have taken that part of the Administration out of their hands and instead of asking them what I shall do I only tell them what I have done ; they themselves are surpriz'd at the Effects of private Transactions they know nothing of. At present I can only plead the Necessity and Success of this management but could wish I had a little fuller Authority to justify this Conduct.

. I have one favour to request of Your Honour that you would be pleased to take the trouble of procuring a pair of Diamond Earrings to the Value of about 100 Pagodas, and to send them to my Brother Bedwell by the first Oppertunity, and bring the Cost to my account. . . . I shall conclude with the Assurance that I am with the utmost Respect

Your Honour's Most obed't Humble Serv't.

P.S.

HON'BLE SIR,

What I am going to say is proper to be wrote by my own hand. I had almost said that I was about to speak on Mr. Connell's behalf, but the Truth is I am speaking for the Company Interests. A Single Life is but a Weak tenure, and I can certainly foresee that in Case of my Death the Company's Affairs would all run to Ruin again without steadier heads in the Management, than any of my present Councill are Masters of. Mr. Connell has a very good Capacity for business, applys himself to it with indefatigable industry, and is by me let into all the Secret Springs of Action. He is more than any one on the place Master of the true Interest and inclinations of the Different People round about us. He is also fully versed in the Company's proper affairs, and by making him my Trustee accountable to your

Honour I have given an indisputable proof that I believe him a Man of integrity.

I know not whether your Honour may think it practicable or convenient to send a Conditionall Commission for him to succeed Mr. Yarborough in the Post of Second in Case of his Decease. I must take the Liberty to say that this is the only method I can think of for the Company's Security. In the meantime he acts as Provisionall Paymaster.

I doubt not that your Hon'r will at least be pleas'd to send an Order by the first [ship] that in Case of any Vacancy in Councill Mr. Connell should succeed.

*March 16th, 1712/3.*

TO MR. JOHN HUNTER,  
CHIEF AT BANTALL.

SIR,

. . . My little charge has been very much Indispos'd with the worms. She is with Mrs. Saunders at Mr. Daniell's Pagar<sup>1</sup> who takes a great deal of care of her. The Doctor also attends her daily. During her illness it has been thought convenient to employ Jacintha again about her of whom the Child is very fond. However I shall endeavour to purchase a more carefull Wench if I can light on one to proceed with the Child to Madrass.

. . . As to the Prices of the things you write about I shall endeavour to inform you by my next, only as to Elephant's Teeth you may venture to give from 16 to 20 Dollers a pecule.<sup>1</sup> Note the largest are the best if Sound. . . .

YORK FORT,

*March 29th, 1713.*

. . . I am glad you have some Prospect of a Speedy Conclusion of the troublesome Warr in your Neighbourhood. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Literally an enclosure. Here probably a house and garden surrounded by a stout hedge.

Your Daughter is much better in health than she has been for some time Past. I have thought fit to remove her to Mr. Irving's who has promised me to take all Possible care of her.

Mrs. Saunders disowns a Contract and I suppose her Inclinations are alter'd. She wou'd have deliver'd some things of yours to me, which I refus'd to recieve without your order. I suppose She will write to you by this Conveyance.

YORK FORT,  
5th May, 1713.

TO THE HON'BLE EDWARD HARRISON,  
ESQ., GOVR., ETC.

HON'BLE SIR,

. . . I shall only say here, that the Company's affairs Prosper more and more, and that had I another ship on hand I cou'd undertake to Dispatch her without Demorage, notwithstanding the interruption our People in the No.<sup>1</sup> meet with ; which I fear will hardly take a better turn till I shift hands. Drinking all night and that constantly is no very good Preparation for a Prudent Administration in the day, especially by the Person at the head of Affairs. When a Chief is warm enough to draw upon his 2nd of Councill and cutt him over his Face, and his 3rd of Councill can wish their Superiours, vizt. the Deputy Governor and Councill all Dragg'd at the Abingdon's stern from Bencoolen to Bantall, your Hon'r knows what is to be expected from their management.

But what can I do without hands ? I design when Mr. White has brought up the Books and Ballanc'd them to make a change. I cannot spare Mr. Connell from me, and after him, Mr. White is the best qualified on the Coast. Mr. Yarborough lives and that's all ; he never comes to Councill, and talks of going home by the Abingdon. How I have been treated by him your Honour will find in part by

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, the northward. Collet refers to the factory at Bantal under the management of Hunter as chief.

a letter Mr. Bailhoan who comes in this Vessell will present you.

I never have had any open Quarrell with Mr. Yarborough and for a great while was unwilling to believe, that he was endeavouring to form a party to make me uneasy. But when no room for doubt was left, I thought the best method was to neglect him, which has succeeded to that degree that hardly a man in the place will converse with him ; and to speak truth he is a contemptible enemy.

Mr. Bailhoan has been very faulty. He is a man of Spirit and having no Superiour that has known in the least how to Govern, but on the Contrary has set examples of Madness and Folly in one kind or other, has fallen into all the West Coast extravagancies, and yet I take him to be a man of Sense and capable of being reform'd, but it must be under a Strict Discipline. I have therefore sent him over to your Honour to deal with him as you shall think fit.

. . . The Bill I have drawn on your Honour Payable to Mrs. Violante Plumb is of that kind. I never heard of the Lady till I received her letter, acquainting me that she had put me into joynt Commission with Stotherd. He was then in a State of Condemnation. I was unwilling Mrs. Plumb's Effects shou'd be sacrificed to his misfortunes and therefore secur'd them for her Account tho' I blushed to see my name on the same Superscription with such a villain.

. . . My Letters from London by the Abingdon inform me that the Company had not paid my Bills on them for Purchase of the Jane, neither had they absolutely refus'd to Pay them, but had taken time to deliberate on the matter. A Private Letter of the latest Date tells me they were very near gone to a Resolution and that I might soon expect to hear of my Son's arrivall in England. It is very probable Your Honour may know the Conclusion of this Affair before my Self and as I know Your Honour's Friendship towards me, I am perfectly easey in a matter I yet esteem of the greatest Importance.

I am a little angry with the Gentlemen of the Society for



Propagating the Gospell. They have not paid my Bill for the Purchase of their Effects. I find their Agent Fink had Imposed on me. He assur'd me those things amounted to Four Hundred Pound prime Cost and desir'd me to give as farr as Two Hundred and Fifty pound for them. I charge them at one Hundred and Fifty designing the Surplus a Compliment from my Self, having really a Good will to the design. But now they tell me that the whole amounted to but one Hundred and Seventy pound prime cost including the Liquors spent. I believe their account is true and that Fink's death was occasion'd by his remorse. I must now make the best of a bad Market, and therefore desire Your Honour to get what you can of the Danes or anybody else for them. I am sure they are not worth Freit home again, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  a loaf is better than no bread.

. . . Since the Conclusion of the preceeding Paragraph, one affair has taken an unexpected turn. Mr. Yarborough has thought fit to request his Discharge from the Company's Service, on the account of his Indisposition which has been granted him and he now comes on the Jenny Yatch for Madrass. As to the circumstances of his Departure I shall make them as easey as it is in my Power. I beg Pardon for quoting a Second Proverb—Make a Golden Bridge for a flying Enemy.

This has given me an Oppertunity of advancing Mr. Connell who is now constituted youngest of Councill.

I am still of the same opinion you will find in my last which also comes by this Conveyance. I do not well know what to do with Mr. Hunter. By what I have already said I am sure you will not think him fit for the Post he now is in. I cannot find that he has ever given any Security here, and I am sure none in England but the Confirmation your Honour and Councill have given him, a little Perplexes me. I cannot in the Company's Affairs charge him with Direct or Open Breach of any Orders of Importance, but Rashness, imprudence and weak conduct appear in all the parts of his management and I am confident the Northern Affairs will

hardly be brought into any tolerable order till hands are shifted.

I am willing to bear as long as I can, but believe I shall be oblig'd to Act according to your Honour's private Instructions of stretching my power in Some Cases, on this Occasion.

I write with real Impatience to hear from your Honour and must take the Liberty to intreat you to Grant me that Satisfaction with every Oppertunity, not doubting but that your Honour will kindly admonish me if in any way my conduct appears irregular, and as favourably approve what you think is well done, I am with the utmost real respect

Your Honour's

Most Obed't Hum'ble Serv't.

[A new Secretary]

PAGGAR,<sup>1</sup>

*June 23, 1713.*

TO THE REVD. FATHER DOM JOHN BAPTIST MILTON<sup>2</sup>

AT SYLLABAR

REVD. FATHER,

I am obliged in Duty to Inform you of some very surprising Resolutions in Government, that have happened in these parts since you left us.

Your old Friend<sup>3</sup> at the Paggar is in good health, and in all other respects much as he used to be ; but in the Fort four several Governours have appear'd on the stage in so many days. Your old Friend was there on Fryday, on Saturday Mr. White rul'd, but sailing on Sunday was succeeded by Mr. Kingsley, who the very first night found the

<sup>1</sup> The term here refers to the Company's farm-house in the neighbourhood of York Fort.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the padre and the poet were related. Milton's brother, Sir Christopher, and their grandfather, Richard Milton, were Catholics. Milton's grandson, Caleb Clarke, went to Madras in 1703 and died there in 1719.

<sup>3</sup> Collet seems to refer to himself under this term. Apparently when the deputy-governor retired to the "paggar," a temporary governor was appointed in the fort.

weight of government too heavy for his shoulders. When a man has work'd or drank hard, a nap in the morning is very refreshing. It seems the rude officer of the military disturb'd the Governour's repose to get the keys of the Garrison, which are always wanted by daylight. O Insupportable Grievance ! for a man in the only moment wherein he is truly quiet, or thinks no ill, to have his repose interrupted by the plague of business. He wisely resolv'd to endure it no longer, and therefore deliver'd up the Keys, and Charge of the Garrison, and to whom think you ? Not to the Gentleman at the Paggar, nor to any in civil Government, but even to the Captain of the Guard, thereby actually subjecting the Civil to the military Power. The Captain had sense enough to know it did not belong to him, and walked up to the Paggar. Your Friend approv'd his Conduct, sent for Mr. Lloyd, and constituted him Governour in the Fort during pleasure.

Tho' thou shouldst bray a fool in a mortar among wheat  
With a Pestill, yet will not his foolishness depart from him.

I am, Revd. Father,  
Yours, etc.

P.S. Capt. Tempest went off with Mr. White, for which reason the young Councillor escap'd being made a Christian at the time appointed, and I know not, whether it be yet done.

YORK FORT,

*Aug't 22nd, 1713.*

TO THE REVD. MR. JOSEPH STENNET.<sup>1</sup>

My Homely Seat built on a rising Ground  
The Coco Orange and the Lime Surround ; <sup>2</sup>  
The fragrant bloom and glowing fruit appear  
Thro' all the Months, and crown the circling Year.

<sup>1</sup> See biography in *D N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> Here and in the following verses Collet describes the company's " paggar."

The Verdant Fields sustain the smiling Sun  
 Unparch'd, his rays directly pouring down :  
 Moist dewes by night Supply the liquid Store,  
 And fountain Nymphs around unwearied pour  
 From unexhausted Urns. Their Streams are Seen  
 On each side crown'd with everlasting Green :  
 To these my lowing Kine returning home  
 With strutting Udders ev'ry Evening come,  
 There Slake their Thirst, retreat thence with the Light,  
 Quitting the Plains where Tygers range by Night :  
 Then to my Yard return the bleating Dams  
 With all their wanton Kids and Sporting Lambs ;  
 A Medley there of Animalls one Sees  
 Hens Capons Ducks and Doves, Eagles and Geese,  
 Hogs Dogs and Monkeys, Red Coats and great Guns,  
 A Scene unusuall in your Country Towns.

These Chast delights relieve the Active mind,  
 Whom weighty cares would else too Strictly bind ;  
 Unbent She with fresh vigour can pursue  
 Her daily Task, and Labours known renew

But when, my Friend ? When will the day arrise  
 Shall bless me with the Sight of native skys ?  
 O when shall I repass the liquid Main,  
 With Reputation blest and mod'rate Gain ?  
 When see my Offspring, or their destin'd race ?  
 Or when be lodg'd within thy strict Embrace ?

J. C.

[In J. C.'s own handwriting]

YORK FORT,

*July 1, 1713.*

TO MR. WM. DAWSONNE.<sup>1</sup>

SIR,

I reciev'd a kind letter by the Abingdon sign'd by your  
 self and Mr. Henry Lyell recommending Mr. Bullard and  
 Mr. Green to my favour.

<sup>1</sup> Director of the English Company, 1710-22.

oblig'd to perpetuall application but I thank God who has given me health and vigor both of Body and Mind to go thro' it.

Whilst I continue to perform my Duty I will not doubt the continuance of your favour to

Sir, Your most obed't Humble serv't.

P.S. *September 1, 1713.*

Sir, I am oblig'd to add a melancholy Postscript. Mr. Green is since dead of a Calenture.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Connell whom I have recommended to the Court of Directors is dangerously ill and the whole weight of business lies on my hands. I design'd a particular address to Mr. Lyell but must beg the favour of You to communicate this to him and excuse me. I also entreat you to send the enclosed to Mr. Dolins which I durst not trust to any other Conveyance, nor would presume to send to you Sealed.

Sd., J. C.

YORK FORT,

*Aug. 1st, 1713.*

TO MRS. ANN BEDWELL.

MY DEAR SISTER,

There is a Commodity bro't from Bengall and used in this Country called Ophium which Produces very different Effects on different Constitutions. Some are laid by it into so profound a Sleep that the noise of a drum, a cannon, or even a scolding woman cannot wake them. Others are reduc'd to a perfect state of Indolence, insensible of pain and possess'd with such a kind of negative pleasure as renders them regardless of everything. A third sort are downright delirious, sleep with their eyes wide open, and talk a great deal without any design or connexion. This drug is ingrossed by the Government here so that no man can deal in it without a Licence from us. What the matter is in England I know not, but all my Male Friends have got

<sup>1</sup> "A tropical fever accompanied by delirium and hallucinations."

the vapours most horribly. Some are fast asleep and others rave, but not one of them has taken the pleasant turn ; for Instance, One is very sorry for my losses—another condoles my misfortunes, and a third laments the great distresses I labour under, whilst God be thanked I know nothing of the matter but increase in Reputation and Fortune daily. For this reason my dear Sister I am thinking to drop my conversation with the Gentlemen above mentioned, at least till they recover their Senses, and to establish a Correspondence with the Ladys, among whom your self enjoy the first place in my Esteem. Tis true I do in this as I have commonly done in other things of late, that is make a wise bargain for myself. This place affords but a few agreeable Subjects to entertain a Lady on, whereas you have a thousand things to tell me which if not wholly new will be as good, since almost all the traces of former things are ras'd out of my memory, as if I had drank the waters of Lethe. I seem enterd into a new world as well as on new Employment ; all objects about me are entirely new ; and crowd in so fast upon me that I have very little time for reflection ; but of that little you and yours enjoy a full proportion. I sometimes fancy myself talking with You relating my Successes here, what large improvements I have already made for my Honble Masters and how much larger I have still in view, that my private Affairs are in a good posture, and that in the management of both publick and private I enjoy perfect peace of mind, till tired with these grave things I gently slide to lighter Subjects and tell you that lately a neighbouring King sent his Queen on an Embassy to me, presuming I could not refuse a Lady the favour by her requested of me. But he found himself mistaken, tho I treated her with respect and made her some presents. Sometime after the King sent for leave to wait on me himself, which being granted He began a conversation on the Subject of Woman and asked me if I had any Children. I told him, I had five Liveing and had buried three all born of one wife who was dead. He reply'd I did not well to live without a Woman here and

offerd me two of his youngest wives to attend me. I answerd that I was a Christian and that Religion does not allow such practices. He said my Predecessors used to live so and he tho't the offer might have been acceptable to me. Next I tell you the Pleasures of the Country which presents to view charming fields, shady groves and purling Streams, and affords to gratify the Taste delicious fruits in abundance ; and as a Shade to this Picture I let you know that sometimes we have pretty severe Earthquakes. My house has rock'd so much that I could not Stand without holding ; but yet I have not known any mischief done by them, and notwithstanding the Ill vapours they are suppos'd to fill the air with, I have never enjoy'd a more establisht health for twelve months together than in those I have now spent in this Country. But still I suppose all this Chat broken into Severall parts by Intervalls kindly fill'd up by your self in which you relate to me things of which at present I can have no conception, and add a particular relation of such as most nearly concerne me. I mean the affairs of my Family and education of my Daughters.

This head has closed the Romantick Scene and I am now return'd to my senses. I conjure you my dear Sister to take some care of their Education. I hope one day to be able to give them moderate fortunes. However I would rather see them deserve a fortune without enjoying it than possess a fortune without desert.

I am, Dear Sister,  
Y'r most affectionate Bro'r

YORK FORT,  
*Augt. 30th, 1713.*

TO DANIEL DOLINS, ESQR.

SIR,

. . . What follows is address'd to your Self personally. And in the first place, Sir, receive my gratefull acknowledgments for your friendship express'd in your many good

wishes, and in your kindness to my Son in his necessity ; a necessity which has enabled me to repay the Loan with Intrest, which I have by this Conveyance order'd my Bro. Bedwell to do. . . .

I have now been long enough in India to make Some Observations on a Subject of which I know you desire to have Some Account, I mean the Propagation of the Gospell in this part of the world.<sup>1</sup> When I arrived at the Cape of Good Hope I met with one of the Danish Missionarys returning from Trinquibar to Europe, with whom I convers'd severall times. He seems a man of piety, has but little learning, and that little, if I am not mistaken, byassed by an Enthusiastick turn. At the same time one Dane and severall English ships were in the Bay homeward bound. I talk'd with the Danish Captain and Chaplain and also with severall English Gentlemen concerning the Danish Mission and comparing what was said on one side and together with what I afterwards Collected at Madrass I take the Affair to Stand thus.

The Missionarys came with a Power to propagate the Gospell, Independant of the Civill Government from which of course they could expect no assistance, but found a direct Opposition. I am not sufficiently inform'd to determine the difference, but am of Opinion both sides are to blame. I believe the Governour has no regard to their design, and they had too little for his Authority. However some progress they made tho' very little, and in my Opinion even that by dint of money. When rice is dear which often happens Children may be bought very cheap, and when bought taught to say what you please ; but tis generally observ'd they take the first Oppertunity to return to their Parents, and the faith of their Ancestors. One Exception to this occasion'd a Contest between them and the Governour when a woman of Some Rank became a proselite. But be assur'd

<sup>1</sup> An account of the Tranquebar mission will be found in Penny *The Church in Madras*, pp. 180 *sqq.* The reader will notice that Collet's letters add some curious information to Mr. Penny's account.



in the whole their Number is very Small, and according to my information even that Small Number is very little to be depended on. They are commonly known by the Name of Rice Christians.

As to the other parts of India there is no pretence to any thing of this kind, only by the Roman Catholicks ; who take the very same Methods above mention'd, except in China where God knows what Religion the Jesuits teach, I am sure not the Christian whilst they conceal the doctrine of a Crucified Saviour.<sup>1</sup>

In this part where I Preside, the Inhabitants under my Government which extends 300 Miles along the Coast, are all Mahometans. These are Intruders. The Originall People are retir'd within the Country and continue Pagans worshipping the Sun, Moon, etc., and yet acknowledge one Supreme God. The People of all Sorts are extremely ignorant in matters of Religion and consequently very Superstitious and much devoted to their Priests. The Priests know nothing but a form of Ceremonys which serv's to keep the People in Subjection. They are allow'd Plurality of Women and care for little else.

The worst is yet to come. I speak of this place. The Christians exceed the Natives in Wickedness and so Blaspheme that Holy Name by which they are call'd, and this I had almost said is Universall. *Pudet hæc Opprobria nobis et dici potuisse et non potuisse refelli.* I endeavour a Reformation both by Authority and Example. God grant Success !

And now, Sir, what can be expected ? Consider the Prejudice of Education joyn'd with Ignorance, an implicit Faith and blind devotion, together with the Liberty of gratifying Sensuall Appetites on one Side ; on the other a Religion which requires Knowledge, Piety, Justice, Charity, and Temperance, and Purity of Heart as well as Life ; and this profess'd by men guilty of Murders, Treacheries,

<sup>1</sup> For a less vehemently Protestant account of the Jesuit work in China, see Latourette, *History of Christian Missions in China*, pp. 187 sqq.

Violence, Fraud, and all manner of Debaucheries. In short, I think the Assistance of Miracles for the Propagation of the Gospell among the Indians now more necessary than they were for its first Establishment amongst the Jews, Greeks and Romans.

I am,  
Sir,  
Your affectionate friend and  
Hum'ble Serv't,  
J. C.

YORK FORT,  
*Sepr.* 18, 1713.

TO MR. JOHN BEDWELL,

. DEAR BROTHER,

This comes by Capt. William Jordan, Commander of the Abingdon to inform you that I have sent a letter in the Company's Packet directed to your Self with a Bill enclos'd on the Court of Directors for two hundred fifty six pound fourteen shillings and ten pence half penny and also a Note of Capt. Jordan's acknowledging that he has received of me a glass Essence bottle filleted with gold, two Snuff boxes and two Laces of the same Mettall (you will find the Laces in the boxes) also three tortoisshell Canes with gold heads and Six ordinary fans all which he promises to deliver to your Self and I desire you to dispose of them as follows—the Essence bottle to my Sister Bedwell, the small boxes one to your Self, the other to Mr. Hodges, the Laces to my Sister Collet and Sister Quincy. The fans will serve my little Girls. I desire you also to deliver the Letter annex'd to Mr. Stennett who fares better than the rest of my friends by my want of rest the night when, not being able to sleep, I turn'd out of bed and wrote what you See.

I am now, I thank God, grown pretty well again but must acknowledge the great mortality that is at present amongst my people makes a deep impression on me. As to myself I have the same tho'ts of death and futurity as

formerly and am alwaies ready to go chearfully when my Master shall call, but it is a melancholy thing to have the prospect of a great deal of business to do, and to have but a few hands to perform it, and those few dayly dropping off. It is said to be the Sicklyest Season that has been known on this Coast for many years.

I hope by this time you will have some little Stock before hand. Whenever it is so I desire you would Scruple no Expençe that may contribute to my daughters' Education. I mean such a one as may best Qualify them for the Charge of a family which I take to be a woman's main business, tho it is not amiss to add a Little Gayety and the female arts of pleasing.

Pray tell my mother that I was prevented writing to her at first by my indisposition and now by the hurry of business in dispatching the Ship but that if I live till the next Conveyance I will make full amends. I am,

My dear Brother,  
Your most affectionate Brother  
and humble Servant.

YORK FORT,  
*Sept. 23rd, 1713.*

TO MR. HENRY WHITE,  
CHIEF OF BANTALL.

MY FRIEND,

Necessity has no law. A short Sentence which I must now enlarge on.

Yours of the 14th Inst. and severall others of later dates all came to hand in course and some of them ought to have been answered long ago. But a troublesome feavour held my hands and yet at the same time I was oblig'd to do the work both of accountant and secretary in dispatching the Abingdon which was completed the 18th instant.

Some unusual malignity infects our air and strikes at all ; to many it proves fatall. Father Milton, Mr. Hitchcock and

Mr. Green are dead and also Mrs. Saunders. Mr. Connell is dying and the Doctor<sup>1</sup> is in danger. Our Military are reduced so thin that we have not men sufficient to do duty but must be oblig'd to arm some of the Slaves.

This is the melancholy State we are in at present with no other Comfort but the Hopes of a Supply from London or Madrass or both. The Malays and Buggese are almost in as bad a condition as our Selves.

I shall dispatch the President next week with a supply of Stores for your Garrison and shall send you a good quantity of Salt which is dear with you.

I am sorry your neighbours are so troublesome especially at a time when it is not in our power to call them to an account. I have carefully considered your Scheme of Warr and do think 30 Europeans and 100 Buggese would be a sufficient force to act offensively. I am sure there would be no fighting and all you have to do is to get possession of Manduta and Moco Moco<sup>2</sup> and then prescribe Laws to both partys. But where are these 30 Europeans to be had? Besides I have one objection to the Season it being the same that Mr. Ettrick play'd the Hero in and lost by rains and bad weather his little Army without fighting.

If I receive sufficient Recruits you may depend on my taking the first fair Season to teach them better manners. I am not at all disposed to bear their Insolencys but am not for Striking till I can do it to the purpose. In the mean time you must lye upon the defensive, keep a good look out and shut your Eyes to all affronts. But if ever they come within reach of the Guns without leave I would have you be very liberrall of your shots.

I pray God preserve your life and grant you establisht Health and give you Wisdom for all things.

I am your affectionate Friend,

J. C.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Pichier, who accompanied Collet to Madras.

<sup>2</sup> Manduta and Moco Moco were the capitals of rival chiefs. See Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p. 287 n.

YORK FORT,  
Oct. 3rd, 1713.

TO MR. HENRY WHITE,  
CHIEF OF BANTALL.

MY FRIEND,

My last was dated Sept. 23rd. I have not received any from you since. On that day Mr. Connell dyed. He has left me his Executor and has I find a small account depending with you. . . . I shall by his order send you a Ring as soon as I can get it made. Mr. Lloyd succeeds him not only in Post but also in my esteem and friendship.

. . . You will easily believe I have business enough on my hands, and it is well I have. It serves to divert the melancholy reflexion of having lost  $\frac{1}{3}$  of my people in a few weeks and many of the rest not yet out of danger tho' I think the Air does now begin to mend a little. We have had a direct pestilence attended with Spots, etc. May God recall the destroying Angell, and have mercy on a poor sick remainder. I am, my Dear,

Your most Affectionate Friend,  
J. C.

P.S. Oct. 6th, 1713.

I design the Above by the President who has taken in all such stores as You want, and we could Spare, and was to have sail'd yesterday but was prevented by the arrival of Capt. Richard Phrip in the Frederick from Madrass. I have thought fit to Detain the President a few days, that I may send you a little good Liquor and some few Stores which we had not before. . . .

This Postscript is too long already in all conscience, tho' I have a hundred more things to tell you, I can't omit one which is from E.H.<sup>1</sup> He says my Character of You to him makes him think You the properest Person for Chief of

<sup>1</sup> Edward Harrison, Governor of Madras.

Bantall and advises me to make You so, if I can spare you ; their General Letter is very obliging, hardly a Paragraph without a compliment ; but I must have done.

J. C.

YORK FORT,  
*October 16th, 1713.*

TO MRS. MARY COLLET.

HONoured MOTHER,

I received two Letters from You by the Abingdon, in March last ; I dispatch'd her for England last month ; but then had neither Health, nor time, Sufficient to write to Your Self. This comes by the Frederick, Capt. Richard Phrip, Commander, who was sent hither with Stores etc. from Madrass, and is to return thither but hopes to be in London next Summer.

I know so little of my Affairs in Europe, that I can make no Reflexions on them ; I shall give You some account how they stand in India.

The last two or three months we have in this place had a Raging Pestilence, attended with a greater mortality than has been known by the oldest Inhabitants. We have bury'd a third part of our People and the Natives have far'd no better ; of the living but one Gentleman in the place, I mean of the Government Servants has entirely 'scaped the Infection, but now I thank God the Air is alter'd, our Sick are on the recov'ry, and as for my Self I am perfectly well. Mr. Hitchcock is dead. I had brought him into the Company's Service, and made him Resident of an inferiour Factory ; he had not time to raise anything. I hear from Persia my Brother John is Dead, and has left some small matter behind, which You may Receive of the Company in London.

A Gentleman named Mr. Richard Connell is dead here. He was third of Councell, and has left my Self Executor and to my Daughter Henrietta his whole Estate ; a great part of it is out in Debts ; if all come in it may amount to about

Four hundred pounds. When I am in possession I shall remit it to England for Her and in the mean time have sent her by Capt. Phrip some trifles of his, which I do not think fit to dispose of.

I thank God all things prosper with Me both for my Masters and my Self. I hope to see you once again in this World, and am well Assur'd of meeting You in the next, where we shall never part.

I am, Honoured Mother,  
Your most Dutiful Son,  
Joseph Collet.

YORK FORT,  
*Oct. 16th, 1713.*

TO MRS. ELIZ' TH COLLET.

MY DEAR BETTY,

I receiv'd yours by the Abingdon and am very well pleas'd to hear You so comfortably pass thro' what I hope will prove the most troublesome part of Your life.

Your Sister Henrietta has got the start of You ; but if the Hussy grows proud, tell her if I live, You will fetch up your Lee Way. If Your Brother is in England he will tell you the meaning of that Salt Water Language.

If You would live easy, be Obliging to all ; if happily, entirely Resign Your Self to God's dispose in the Performance of Your Duty. To his protection I recommend You and Your little Family.

I am, my Dear Girl,  
Your Affectionate Father,  
Joseph Collet.

My tender love to Your Self and Sisters.  
J. C.

YORK FORT,  
*Oct. 20th, 1713.*

TO MR. HENRY WHITE,  
CHIEF OF BANTALL.

MY FRIEND,

. . . My Son was not arrived in England when the Susanna sail'd but the Company write in their Generall, that my Bill on them was paid and that they had sent for him and his Companion over, and expected them daily.

Capt. Wathen is come hither Youngest of Councill ; another came from England with the same character, but dy'd by the way. We have six Factors, a Writer ; and a Petticoat belonging to one of the Factors arriv'd and to speak Truth 'tis a Seasonable Recruit.

Capt. Godwin will tell you the publick news, and whether you have it from him or me, you must expect a little of the partiality of a Party. My private accounts represent the Affairs of Europe to be in a very indifferent posture. He will perhaps tell you the advantages of the Peace and I should be apt to mention the Hon'ble means of obtaining it.

I am of opinion that a Breach of publick Faith is not more reputable to a Society, than the violation of a contract is to a private person ; and therefore would have you, my Dear, act with the same Truth, and justice, both in your publick, and private capacity.

I am, Your Affectionate Friend,  
J. C.

P.S. *Oct. 23rd, 1713.*

You will perhaps wonder to find the Postscript to my private Letter a direct contradiction to Our Generall Letter wherein You are told that we can spare no men to make the Appearance of a Military force Sufficient to make your troublesome neighbours quiet ; whereas this will tell you that we shall send two Europe Ships, an Ensign Serjeant and 12 soldiers besides the six soldiers you will receive by the



President, with full power to command a peace, by Military Execution if it can't be done on better Terms. I did not think fit to lett any beside your Self into this Secret, but give you the Liberty of discovering it if you think it may be to advantage. The Declaration we shall make will be to this purpose, that Sultan Guillamot shall be re-establish'd in the Government but restrain'd from a tyrannical exercise of his power, and whoever of the contending partys shall refuse to agree upon those Terms shall be declar'd an Enemy to the Company and proceeded against accordingly.

You know very well my Opinion in matters of this kind, that I am not easily provok'd to engage in a War, but when it becomes necessary I am for pushing it on with the utmost vigour; but should be glad to find that your prudent management with the appearance of a power to Enforce your Resolutions prevent the occasion of shedding Blood. If it must come to that remember the Motto 'Pax quærit in Bello', and the more vigourously a War is pursu'd the sooner and upon the better Terms a Peace is to be obtain'd. It will be no small advantage to have a force of two Thirty Guns Ships besides the President, and two prows that will attend 'em, but I shall enter into no further particulars at present. You may depend on full Instructions with the Forces, and Capt. Phripp, who has here your post in Councill and on those with you must take the precedency, will inform you of all things needfull.

J. C.

YORK FORT,

*October 31st, 1713.*

TO MR. SAMUEL COLLET.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

. . . This comes by the Frederick, Capt. Phripp who comes round by Madrass.

I observe what you write of my family affairs which I hope long ere this have taken a better turn.

As to your public affairs I read the disputes of High and Low Church with just the same concern I do the History of the Guelphs and Gibellines. In my Dominions are a great many Religions but no disputes as to the Civill Affairs. Every man may talk as he pleases but must do what I command, and let me tell you, a Whigg in Power will be as absolute as any Tory. . . .

I thank God I prosper in Soul and Body, largely in reputation and a little in Estate. To his protection I recommend you to whom are Offer'd for you and yours the dayly prayers of

Dear Brother,  
Your affectionate  
Friend and Brother,  
J. C.

YORK FORT,  
*Dec. 6th, 1713.*

TO MR. HENRY WHITE,  
CHIEF OF BANTALL.

. . . You will find by our Generall that I approve your reasons for settling at Moco Moco rather than at Manduta.

Your conduct in this troublesome Affair has been entirely to my Satisfaction and I hope you will speedily make a happy conclusion.

We have had a sad time of it here since my Last. We have buried Mr. Wathen and Mr. Trent who was in the Accountant's Office and has left a Widow with us. Mr. Evans is dead and to be short in so dismal a story, we have buried about 15 Persons in a month past ; and yet I thank God my Self and Mr. Lloyd have been all this while growing better and now seem to be in a pretty good state of health. We have filled up the vacancys in Councill, as you will see in our Generall.

I pray God to give you Success in all things and particularly to crown a just War with a Speedy and lasting Peace.

I am, my Dear Friend,  
Your Affect'te  
J. C.

YORK FORT,  
*Dec. 29th, 1713.*

TO MR. HENRY WHITE,  
CHIEF OF BANTALL.

MY SON,

. . . In your Next, pray give me a little history of the War, for tho' I find you are Victor and have got Moco Moco, and Manduta in possession, I do not know either how or when they were taken. I congratulate you on the surrender of Battoo Putle, and the severall Dusans<sup>1</sup> about Ippue, and doubt not of hearing very speedily that Peace is establish'd about you.

. . . I have sent you inclos'd a Ring in memory of Mr. Wathen, being his Legacy to you by will.

I recommend you to the divine protection and blessing and am, My Dear,

Your Most Affect'te,  
J. C.

YORK FORT,  
*Feb'y 20th, 1713/14.*

[Sent to Madrass via Batavia  
per the Dolben.]

TO CAPT. PHRIP.

SIR,

. . . I return my hearty thanks for your kind offer of engaging in a Settled Correspondence with my Self which I gladly accept, and shall be carefull constantly to maintain

<sup>1</sup> Villages.

it on my part, and that in full confidence and without reserve. I shall begin it with requesting one Favor of importance to me. When I came out of England, I had encouragement given me to expect if my administration in this Government prov'd to satisfaction, that at the expiration of my time here, which will be July 1716, a Removall to some Post of greater importance. By that time this comes to your hand the Company will be able to make a thorough Judgment of me and my Actions, and it will be a very great Service to me, to know whether I may depend on anything further or not. I therefore request you to sound such Gentlemen of the Court of Directors as you shall think fit ; especially my particular Friends Messrs. Page, Dawsonne, Gould, Lyell, and Wordsworth,<sup>1</sup> and to communicate to me your real thoughts on the matter.

I shall gladly embrace any Opportunity that shall offer, by which I may approve my Self to be with real respect.

Sir, Your Assur'd Friend,  
and Hum'ble Serv't.

YORK FORT,  
*Feb. 9th, 1713/14.*

TO MR. HENRY WHITE,  
CHIEF OF BANTALL.

MY FRIEND,

. . . You have done well in Writing to the Gentlemen at London. I need not tell you that I will be sure to second it with my interest ; and doubt not but when I come to leave the Coast, I shall see you establisht my successor from home.

I don't understand what Sultan Zeylone <sup>2</sup> can mean by saying that he had my Order for Seizing on Mansore and

<sup>1</sup> Page and Dawsonne have already been mentioned. John Gould, senior, was director 1710-12 and 1715-35 ; Henry Lyell 1710-30, Chairman in 1718 ; and Josias Wordsworth, senior, 1712-39, Chairman 1717 and in other years.

<sup>2</sup> Sultan of Indrapur.

Silleman's<sup>1</sup> Buffaloes. He did once talk to me on the subject of Plunder and I said that what the Soldiers took in time of Action, and on the Spot, except Pepper etc. belonging to the Company, should be their Own. But I had not the least thought or intention to include the Cattle or anything else, that might fall into your hands after the Warr was over, which indeed come under the nature of Confiscations ; and can by no means be deem'd military Plunder.

I am glad the Inhabitants of Manduta return so fast. I look upon the Rajahs Mansore and Silleman as undone men, who when abandon'd by the Small Remainder of their vagabond Friends, must either fly their Country or lose their heads.

I congratulate you on your Success in the publick Affairs and hope a Corinthian harvest<sup>2</sup> will shortly crown your— private Labours.

I thank you for the promise of Silleman's Sword which I shall accept kindly.

I desire you to advise Sultan Guillamote that according to his request I have redeemed from Mr. Tago a Gold handled Creese, one Ring and four Buttons of the same metall, for which I paid 18 dollars 2s. 14 c. being the principal lent on them and int'rest at 10 per cent per annum. I shall send them down by the first Land Conveyance and desire you to receive the money for me.

I am very sorry for Mr. Foxes' (*sic*) death. Mr. Dorrill is to succeed him in Post, according to your desire. I purpose to send you some Writing Assistance by the first proper conveyance.

I pray for your Prosperity in Soul, Body, and Estate, and am

Your most Affec'te,  
J. C.

P.S. I have sold the two Slaves for 110 dollars, to be paid

<sup>1</sup> Mansur and Sulaiman, rajas of Moco Moco and Manduta, whence they had driven Sultan Guillemot.

<sup>2</sup> "He that soweth bountifully shall reap bountifully" (2 Cor. ix. 6).

in a month and shall bring one half to the credit of your Account. A Jar of nutmegs, by this Conveyance, mentioned in the Jeremoody's Receipt desires your Acceptance.

J. C.

YORK FORT,

*Feb. 26th, 1713 /4.*

TO GREGORY PAGE, ESQ.

HON'D SIR,

. . . I wrote you by Capt. Rd. Phrip in the Frederick, who will in person be able to give you a very full and, I hope, satisfactory account of the Hon. Company's Affairs in this place. I then hoped to have dispatched the Susanna before her Demorage commenc'd, which was on the 17th Inst, but the Pestilence which was a little abated at the time of Capt. Phrip's departure, return'd again with Greater Violence, as you will see by the Bill of mortality, in our Packet by Capt. Pinnell. The mortality has been as great in proportion amongst the Natives ; so that the Country is near one half dispeopled. To this add that the last Rice Harvest was intirely lost by the unseasonableness of the weather, and that the last two months, when their People ought to have been imploy'd in bringing their Pepper down to us, all hands have been taken up by their Paddy Grounds ; and indeed all too little ; it has been with Great Difficulty that we have procur'd Rice enough for our Soldiers and Slaves. Also all January prov'd so Stormy that the Prows loaden on the Coast could not come out ; and this month, contrary to the course of the Monsoon, the Southerly Winds have blown so fresh that the Prows from Catown which have lain loaded with a considerable quantity of Pepper these two months have not yet been able to come out. Notwithstanding all this we had shipt on board the Susanna before the 17th Inst. more than her complement of Pepper, in case she had taken in Salt Petre and Redwood as usual. She now wants between 40 and 50 ton, which lyes ready in the Country as

we are inform'd and only wants an Opportunity of conveyance. More than that quantity has been cast away on 4 Sev'rall Bars since the Abingdon was loaded.

We have at length put an honourable end to the troubles in the North. Our Forces obtained a compleat Victory without bloodshed, and the Peace of that Country is I believe establish'd on a lasting foundation. I doubt not but a little time will render Bantall and the Settlements there abouts profitable, unless they shou'd happen to fall under such Management as formerly.

Our Land People recover apace, so that we are now almost all in pretty good health ; but the Sailors fall sick apace and Capt. Pinnell has lost sev'rall of his Men. . . .

I am with the utmost Respect, under great obligations,

Honoured Sir,

Your most obed't and Humble Serv't.

YORK FORT,

*March 1st, 1713/4.*

TO THE REVEREND MR. NATHANIEL HODGES.

MY FRIEND,

Mr. Puddephat brought me a short letter of recommendation from you. . . . But I have something to say to you on the business contain'd in your Letter. I mean the subject of recommendation which I take to be one of the nicest things a Man can meddle with ; and about which a Man cannot be too cautious. I observe you have given the bearer no character, but if his true character were known to you, your hand alone was abundantly too much. For let me tell you for the honour of the West Coast, he is the most scandalous Person on it ; a notorious drunkard, a profane Swearer, and a Scandalous defamer, reproofs and admonitions have no Effect on him. I have been oblig'd to confine him for severall days and feed him with Rice and Water, and unless he Reforms shall turn him out of the Company's

Service, and send him home. Perhaps formerly he might have met with fit Associates at this place, but I must say the Generall reformation of manners here is such as I believe will hardly find credit in England. If any Man will offend, it must be privately.

I don't know whether you have been inform'd that I am turn'd Parson. Every Sunday, my Secretary reads Prayers ; and I preach out of Archbishop Tillotson and generally have a full congregation. I am grown so popular that some of my Roman Catholick Neighbour's congregation come to hear me. I was going to add that I have married People here, but that was quâ Governour tho' I made use of the Parson's tools.

Capt. Pinnell will save me the trouble of writing abundance of particulars concerning my Self and Government ; I should now desire a particular account of affairs at home, but if they are in the posture I suspect, it is no great matter whether I hear any thing of them or not. I should be glad to know whether that Fanatick Brett who printed two Sermons, one of the Forgiveness of Sin, and the other of the honour of the Christian priesthood, (with which I furnish'd a certain apartment), be put in Bedlam or made a Bishop.<sup>1</sup>

And now, My Dear, I pray God to bless you, and yours, and, if it please him, to bring us together again before we enter the invisible state.

I am, My dear Friend,

Your most Affectionate,

J. C.

<sup>1</sup> I believe the allusion is to the non-juror, Thomas Brett, who, in the year in which Collet was writing, resigned his living, and two years later was consecrated bishop by the non-jurors. His high Tory views in 1714 led him to criticize the Lutheran Church in a way which Whigs regarded as no less than seditious. He was a strong defender of what (I fear) Collet might have designated "priestcraft."

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YORK FORT,

*March 1st, 1713/4.*

TO THE REVEREND MR. GILES DENT.

DEAR GILES,

Two Ships and never a Letter is abominable. I can hardly prevail on my Self to send you a line, but good nature will prevail, with this allay, however, that all your entertainment shall be a true Story Applicable to any Man in Love in which condition this perhaps may find you.

Gongalo, who is the Hero I am now to celebrate, and who dayly waits at my table, is a Native of the Great Mogull's dominions, near the Banks of the famous Ganges, where he was initiated into the sacred order of the Priesthood ; and whence he came a Freeman to this part of the large Island Sumatra ; in which State he remain'd for some time. But at length Love taking post in Gromia's Eyes attack'd him with so much vigor that he willingly became Captive to her Charms. Gromia, tho' adorn'd with the Eastern beautys of a low Forehead, flat nose, wide Mouth and a dark Olive complexion was yet so Unhappy as to be in a State of Slavery to the English East India Company, so that she could not be marry'd without her Lover's subjecting himself and Posterity to the same condition. She had indeed the Goodness to have eas'd his amorous Pains without that fatall tye ; but he thought his own and his Posterity's liberty was too small a consideration to come in competition with his obtaining a title to the perpetual enjoyment of his belov'd Gromia.

She has been dead some Years ; he has two daughters remaining the fruit of that Amour, who are together with himself in the same Rank of Life he found the charming Gromia.

This Relation I have had from himself, now laden with years, and not repenting his choice. I propose him to the reviv'd Tatler as an Instance of Heroic Love, and think his Example exceeds the Garter, and Willow, the Dagger or

Opiate. Even his belov'd Cynthio deserves not higher praise.

The Spectator's Improvements on this theme may raise the young amorous Britains to a pitch yet unknown ; and by the warmth of his Spirit supply to them the absence of our Neighbouring Sun.

I am, My Dear,  
Your Affect'e Friend,  
J. C.

YORK FORT,  
*March 1st, 1713/4.*

TO MRS. MARY QUINCY.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I have receiv'd yours of the 6th of Jany. last and am glad to find that my Brother is got into good business again. Tell him, I am very well pleas'd with his present, and heartily wish him good Success. . . .

I suppose you found your Nephew a perfect Monsieur at his arrivall.<sup>1</sup> If he has preserv'd his innocence and vertue, I shall not be sorry for the rough introduction he has had into the world. I know him to be Ambitious and daring. Adversity is a very good School to teach patience and perseverance which joyn'd with his other two Qualitys under the conduct of prudence will make a Great Man. You know what surprising changes of Life I have run through in a very short time ; and I must say that, abating the pleasure which flows from the satisfaction of doing good to Others, I know very little difference between the extremes of Prosperity and adversity. A Steady view and firm Assurance of a future happy State, attended with this principle of action—that if a Man can approve himself to his Maker, it signify's very little what the World think or say of him—will Support under all the Calamity's of this Life ; and give

<sup>1</sup> Collet's son and the other hostage had been released on Collet's bills being paid by the company.

a peculiar relish and delicacy to the enjoyments that are Scatter'd up and down in it.

I beg pardon for all this Philosophy which imperceptibly stole upon me. I ought to have entertain'd you with something more gay. I shall endeavour to make amends by the next Conveyance and in the mean time remain,

My dear Sister,

Your most Affect'te Brother,

J. C.

YORK FORT,

*March 1, 1713/4.*

TO MRS. ELIZABETH COLLET.

MY DEAR GIRL,

. . . Your Brother's ransom prov'd much nearer than you expected ; I doubt not but he will be set out for India long before you receive this. But were it Otherwise, I love you too tenderly to grant your Request ; it is impossible for you to conceive the difficulty's one of your Sex must meet with in such a Voyage. I now write to your Uncle Bedwell, to place you, if you desire it, with your Aunt Quincy and hope by this time you will find all things pretty easy, and still changing for the better. Your Sister Henrietta has got a Fortune left her, by meer chance, a Gentleman that thought himself under some obligations to me one day askt my Youngest daughter's Name. I told him Henrietta ; he desir'd Leave to make her his Heir and did accordingly, and dy'd in a few months after. . . . I have sent by this conveyance a Diamond Ring with Seven Small Stones which I present to your Self for your own wear. I have sent also three pair of Gold Buttons, and four Elephant hair Rings ; if your Sisters have not each of them a Ring of that kind already, give them one ; if they have I give you Liberty to dispose of them according to your own discretion.

. . . Tell your Sisters I remember them, with You dayly, and pray to God for his Blessing on you all. Be not

wanting in your duty to him, and He will prove your best Father and Protector. To his Grace I recommend you and am

Your Affectionate Father,  
J. C.

YORK FORT,  
*March 1, 1713/4.*

TO MR. SAMUEL COLLET.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

. . . I Observe what you write concerning Mr. Williams. The Greatest part of the World have Souls of too low a cast for Friendship, tho' I am very sensible that I have found more real Friends when I have most wanted them, than ought in conscience fall to any one Man's Share.

Mr. Kington proves well,—sober and diligent ; and finds favor accordingly ; I have put him under the Store-keeper that he may learn to be Master of that business, which will qualify him almost for everything else. But I am very much surpris'd that you should give Mr. Puddephat the character of a Man of Sobriety. . . . My dear Friend, Recommendation is a very ticklish thing. I would rather venture my money than the Reputation of my Judgment in giving any man a character whom I did not perfectly know, and I observe the men of experience in the World when they recommend a person to one's favor, they always add according to merit. The worst of it is in this Gentleman's case that he has a Great many faults, and no Vertues to ballance them ; he cannot write English or Sense, nor a hand fit for business here ; in Short he is both Useless and troublesome.

I am very sorry to find so many of our Friends drop off. I find Death ranges the whole Globe. . . .

I am really Asham'd to tell you the great reputation I have obtain'd in all parts of India amongst the Indians and Dutch as well as English. . . . However, as a Specimen of

the Eastern Stile I shall give you a Grammatical Translation of part of a Letter I receiv'd, some Months since, from a Sovereign Prince in this Country ; which take as Follows.

" FROM DUPATTY RAJAH,  
Kalippa. . . . <sup>1</sup>

TO THE WORSHIP'LL JOSEPH COLLET, ESQR.,  
Deputy Govr. of the West Coast, etc.

WORSHIP'LL S'R,

This Letter comes from a sincere heart, without any mixture of guile. I hope God Almighty will conduct these Lines to your hands, to Whom I pray day and night that God Almighty will never forget You, but be your constant guard till death ; You whom the Company have made so great here, to preside over all their Affairs ; You who are a Friend, to great and small, the Staff of Justice for all Merchants to rely on, the Ket de Sol <sup>2</sup> to guard from oppression ; You who both see and hear for the Female King of England ; I pray for your long Life, health and prosperity, Amen. I send this little bit of a line to acquaint my Brother the Govr. of Bencoolen that I design to \* \* \* \* \* if my Brother says it is well. I would beg of my Brother \* \* \* \*. I humbly beg of my Brother the Govr. of Bencoolen to grant me this Favor, which will be a great obligation to his most Humble Servant, etc."

The General Epithets given me are Just and good. Their Kings and Princes obey my commands with as great readiness as if I were their natural Sovereign, so that without assuming the title I am really an Absolute Prince with respect to the Malays. The Buggese and Chinese who live here are properly subjects to the Company and consequently under my immediate Government. And as for the English

<sup>1</sup> A "dupatty" was a village head-man. Even the principal "dupattys" or *proatin* were not sovereign princes. Collet is using his words somewhat loosely. His correspondent was really a magnate owing allegiance to the local Sultan but exercising considerable powers himself.

<sup>2</sup> Variouslly spelt "kittysol," "quitasol," etc. An umbrella used both as a mark of rank and protection against the sun.

we make up one great Family of which I am the head and common Father, to whom all pay the Reverence, Respect and Obedience of Children. All this together renders my Government very easy; the publick Affairs prosper abundantly, and my private Affairs are also in a flourishing condition. In short, I think my Self very happy to be out of England at a time when as far as I can perceive your Clergy are mad, and the Laity out of their wits.

I hope next Season to have an opportunity of making some considerable Remittance, on which occasion you may expect to hear from me. I shall conclude this long Letter with my hearty prayers to Almighty God for his blessing on you and yours.

I am, my dear,  
Your Affect'te Brother,  
J. C

YORK FORT,  
*March 13th, 1713/4.*

TO MR. HENRY WHITE.  
CHIEF OF BANTALL.

SIR,

. . . As to the produce of your Country I believe Gold will prove the Staple commodity; Elephants' teeth if Large will turn to account. But I do not think that Cassia, Lignum, or Benjamin, will be worth trading in.

. . . Our Female is like to pay you a Visit, designing for Madras on the President. Our Resident of Sillebar has bought a male Infant born last month of one of our Slaves, and, as he supposes, begot by himself. Bailhon can agree with Nobody, nor can anybody agree with him. I keep the Great Boys as quiet as I can but am oblig'd now and then to take away their Bread and Butter. I hope in two months to be settl'd at MARLBOROUGH,<sup>1</sup> where they will be more

<sup>1</sup> York Fort was about to be replaced by Collet's new and enlarged fort, named by him after the great Whig general.

under my eye ; and shall constantly pursue my Old Maxim—He that will not bend, shall break. A prudent Man will know the Limits of his power ; but in cases of Obstinacy, I wou'd rather exceed than come short of my Commission, there being always Some reserved Cases, which tho' not exprest will be allowed by all Superiours ; tho' in truth my Power here, is so large that I cannot well have any occasion of stretching it. But who would have thought that such Grave political reflections shou'd be tack't to the Story of a Cow and a Calf with which this Paragraph begins.

I heartily wish you all Prosperity in Sou'l and Body, and am,

Your most affect'te Friend,  
J. C.

YORK FORT,  
*March 23rd, 1713/4.*

TO CAPT. ALEXANDER FULLERTON  
IN FORT ST. GEORGE.

SIR,

I have received yours dated the 4th of last month by the Dolben, wherein you acquaint me that you had wrote four sev'rall times, but had receiv'd no answer. I can only say that you make choice of very ill messengers, the above mention'd being the first I ever receiv'd from you.

You recommend Sergt. Eaton as having behav'd himself in your company boldly and bravely. I am oblig'd to send him, Corpl. Kennedy, and Wm. Bush to England, there to be punish'd for Mutiny, Piracy and Murder committed on board the Dolben.<sup>1</sup>

I am, Sir, Your Humble Serv't,  
J. C.

<sup>1</sup> Sergeant Eaton had, I believe, been in charge of "16 able men" sent from Madras to reinforce the York Fort garrison. By an unpleasant coincidence, about the same time, the officers of the *Mary Galley* were murdered by lascars, whom Collet sent to Madras for trial.

YORK FORT,  
*Apr. 3, 1714.*

TO MR. HENRY WHITE,  
CHIEF OF BANTALL.

SIR,

. . . I design to send you about three thousand dollars private Trade, most Coast Goods, according to your List. I believe this Project will be of Service to the Company and everybody else concerned. Your bills are paid. We are very poor and I am in great haste, but must tell you that the Dolben has been here from Madrass, brought us some Stores and a few Soldiers and news of a Peace with France and Spain which we have proclaim'd with all the pomp we cou'd and you must do so too. I danc'd with the Widow. You must do as you can. I can tell you no more now, but that I am, as you very well know,

Your Assur'd Friend,  
J. C.

YORK FORT,  
*Apr. 7th, 1714.*

SIR,

. . . I wish you be not mistaken in Parker for the reasons you give. If you are and send him hither, I will make him work or turn him adrift. I send you Knapton who with a little instruction may be able to supply that Post on Occasion, but he must be kept to business and kept under. . . . I am glad to find Newdick sticks to business. I have sent you two more Assistants, with express Liberty in Generall to hire Mr. Clark to whom I write by this Conveyance.

Ensign Lloyd to be sure ought to have Diet money allow'd him, whilst he resides at Moco Moco, and so must Mr. Heyden who brings a Wife with him to keep your Widdow company. I shall hardly send ours unless it be



*en passant* in her voyage to Madrass, for reasons I have too much respect for the sea to acquaint you with.

I am glad to hear of anybody's repentance but remember the old monkish Rhyme :

The Devil was Sick, the Devil a Monk wou'd be.

The Devil was well ; the Devil a Monk was He.

You have done very well in treating the Buggese with some severity. Take this for a Maxim in Government, that whoever encourages Merit and treats all Men in General with justice, may punish Crimes that are open or plainly prov'd without danger. Only this caution must be observ'd, that the management be steady and invariable. Encourage all that perform their Duty by a chearful Aspect ; reprove those that are deficient in small matters, punish Offenders in matters of importance, and break all the obstinate and incorrigible.

You will see that I have comply'd with your motion of making a handsome Present to the Sultan ;<sup>1</sup> I think it would not be amiss for Some of them to make a visit here when a fair Opportunity offers.

I send you a Small Book and have set my name to the Present because I think it deserv's it.

The Lord help your Councillors and mine too. Except Mr. Lloyd I have none to assist me ; I don't know what Mr. Clopton may prove, because he came on shoar sick and has continued so ever since ; but he comes highly recommended to me by Persons whom I take to be the best judges in India ; particularly for Accountant. If he recovers Bailhon turns out of that Post and must relieve our Friend in his Storekeeper's employ.

. . . I forgot to tell you how fast I rise at Fort St. George ; there are but 4 Persons at that board, including the Governor above me. Mr. Raworth has been in actual rebellion against the Government there, and would not surrender Fort St. Davids to their Order ; and when Governour Harrison

<sup>1</sup> Either Guilemot or the Sultan of Indrapur.

himself with a Body of English forces came down he fir'd upon them and held out a fortnight's Siege before he surrender'd, and that was on condition to have Liberty to go to Puley-cherry in Order to proceed home with the French.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Frederick is now Governour of Fort St. Davids, Mr. Jennings 2nd at Fort St. George, Mr. Benyon 3rd, Mr. Warre 4th, my Self 5th, Mr. Hordern 6th, Mr. Smart 7th, Mr. Cooke 8th. There is still a vacancy by Mr. Davenport going home.

. . . I can think of nothing else at present but what I can never forget, that I am

Your Affec'te Friend,  
J. C.

P.S. We have a fashion here of wearing Silk Coats, which being light are commodious enough. I have sent by Capt. Pinnell one piece for outsides, and another for lining, which I desire you to accept.

YORK FORT,  
*Apr. 20th, 1714.*

TO MR. JOHN BEDWELL,  
BREWER, ON MILLBANK, WESTMINSTER.  
DEAR BROTHER,

. . . When you have dispos'd of the three Rings for sale be pleas'd to bring the produce to the credit of my account current. I hope you will receive some remittance on my account from Fort St. George, tho' it cannot be much. I have hitherto been oblig'd to trade on credit, but now have pretty near a sufficient Stock of my own. I hope to compleat it the next Year and to be able to remitt you my Daughter Henrietta's fortune which will be near 500 pound, and about a thousand pound on my account. I have talk'd pretty freely with Capt Pinnell about my affairs ; and he will give you a fuller account of them than I think proper for a Letter.

<sup>1</sup> Extracts relating to this curious affair will be found in Talboys Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time*, pp. 327 sqq.

I thank God I am in perfect health of body, and enjoy uninterrupted peace of mind, and all my affairs prosper.

I find my Daughter Betty is not very easy with her Grand-mother. If you think it convenient, you may place her with her Aunt Quincey. I think it will not be amiss to give her some notion that if I live a few Years, she has a very probable chance for a fair fortune and ought to value herself accordingly.

I wait with some impatience for the next Letters and shall be very glad to hear the Company's sentiments of my first actions here. You know when I came out I had some Expectations given me of being further advanc'd when my time should be expir'd. It is now time to push that matter. I rise in council at Fort St. George pretty fast, but that will not do. I do not think fit to quit this place without being sure of the Government of St. Davids immediately, and the hopes of the presidency either at Fort St. George or Bengall. I shall write something on this subject to Mr. Page. It will be of great service to know what I may depend on, for then I shall have a twelvemonth's time to settle my affairs here. This matter must be manag'd very gingerly and rather hinted at even to Mr. Page than plainly exprest.

. . . I doubt not but I shall be able to discharge all my obligations of Conscience<sup>1</sup> before my Time is out here, and to have much about the Same Sum for my little ones. A few Years more at that Rate would satisfy me and yet I think I ought not to be excus'd if I should neglect the doing what is in my own power to obtain something very much beyond it.

I pray tell my Sister that I depend on her for the education of my Girls ; I know that I have already told her so my Self, in my Letter by the Abingdon but 'tis a Subject which touches me nearly which I cannot help repeating. I should be very sorry at my Return to find them unqualify'd for that fortune which, if ever I do return, they may reasonably expect. As for my Son he will have an Opportunity put into his hands of raising a sufficient future for himself.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, the full payment of his English creditors.

I cannot conclude without telling you one thing which gives me a great deal of pleasure ; I mean that a great Reformation of manners is visible amongst my People ; and I have reason to believe that in some instances there is a change of heart as well as Life. This reformation extends not only to many of our English, but also to some of the Heads of our Buggese and Malays ; in short some publick vices which were in vogue with them are now grown scandalous. It is no great wonder that my Example and Manner of Conversation should have some influence on them, since their Kings give me the title of Great King of their country and do not put their own Law in execution till they have acquainted me with their determination and had my consent.

. . . I therefore shall only add the assurance that I am,  
Dear Brother,  
Your Most Affect'te  
Friend and Humble Serv't,  
J. C.

YORK FORT,  
*Aprill 20th, 1714.*

TO GREGORY PAGE, ESQ.

HON'D SIR,

. . . The influence of your Friendship extends thus far with full force and vigor ; 'tis that alone procures me the many and important favors which I constantly receive from Govern'r Harrison, who both by words and actions gives me convincing proofs of a real friendship. I acknowledge my Self bound to him by the ties of duty as my Superiour, but much more so by the ties of gratitude which nothing can dissolve. In his last Letter to me he is pleas'd to congratulate me on my rising so fast in Council there, and gives me a hint to put my Friends in England in mind of securing my int'rest in that place when my Government here expires.

When I left England you were pleas'd to propose one motive to diligence in the discharge of my Duty here, that if my Services were to the Satisfaction of my Hon'ble Masters I might hope in time to be rewarded in the government of Fort St. George. By that time this arrives I doubt not you will be able to make a very good judgment how far my Actions are Approv'd at home, and whether I can reasonably expect any further advancement. I humbly beg the favor of your Sentiments freely on this Subject and shall take the Liberty of Acquainting you fully with my Circumstances here.

The Profits of my Government in the 4 years contracted for will not be Sufficient to defray my necessary expenses and re-imburse the charge of my Outsett ; what I get is by Trade which is confin'd to a narrow compass here, and also attended with considerable risques. So that I cannot hope in that line to raise a reasonable Subsistence for my Self and family, if at the end of my 4 years I should go to Fort St. George to reside in my Station in Councill. I do not apprehend any probability of increasing my little Stock there ; I believe the Posts yield but little profit, and I am sure the general trade of India runs very low, and yet the expense must be high. I should therefore rather choose notwithstanding the unhealthfullness of this place to venture my Life a little longer here than to exchange for the Coast without a certainty of the Government of Fort St. Davids or a probability of the presidency at Fort St. George.

Thus, Sir, have I lay'd open my private sentiments to you, all which I submit entirely to your judgment ; and as I owe all that I am at present in India to your favor, so I chearfully submit to your determination what I shall be for the future, with the Assurance that whatever Station of Life I am in I shall faithfully discharge the duties of it to the utmost of my power, and that whatever part of the World I am in I shall never forget the Obligations you have so generously lay'd on me.

I think it my duty to give you some Account of the

Persons under me here, that in case of my removall you may know who are qualify'd to succeed. Here are now five in Councill besides my Self. Mr. Henry White is second and Chief of Bantall. He is a young Gentleman of good capacity, great diligence, and I firmly believe of perfect integrity ; and could, I am confident, pursue the same maxims in the management of the Company's Affairs and the country government as I my Self have done. Mr. Thomas Lloyd is 3rd of Councill and Paymaster here ; he is upward of thirty, has been bred a merchant, is thoroughly vers'd in the Company's Affairs here, a man of solid sense and undoubted integrity. These two Gentlemen have been at my request to Govr. Harrison both confirm'd from Fort St. George in their Stations here. I make it my humble request to you that they may have the like confirmation from London, being confident that the Company's affairs would be justly and steadily manag'd under their direction. The next Mr. Thomas Clopton, lately come over from Madrass, has been ever since his arrival dangerously sick ; so that I can give no character of him, only that he comes well recommended. The other two are Mr. Stephen Bailhon and Mr. Baltha'r Netzer, who were brought into Councill at a pinch, when there was none but my Self and Mr. Lloyd left and we had nobody else besides new-comers to take. I can say no good of them but should be very sorry the administration should ever come into their hands. The rest of our People are young, but some of them hopefull. I shall take the liberty to mention Mr. Wm. Palmer, our Secretary and Mr. John Kington.

I conclude that I am under the strongest ties of Gratitude, and with the utmost Sincerity

Hon'd Sir,

Your most faithfull Humble

Serv't,

J. C.

P.S. Capt. Pinnell has promised me to deliver you half a Leaguer of Arrack which from me craves your Acceptance.

YORK FORT,  
*April 21, 1714.*

TO MR. RICHD. TAYLOR  
IN LONDON.

SIR,

I am under a double obligation to you, who when your first present by Capt. Small had outstrip'd and consequently miss'd me, have taken the trouble to make me a second Present of a Cheese by Capt. Pinnell which came safe to hand and has serv'd to relish a good glass of Wine, when your health has been drank round.

If you happen to serve any Captains coming hither with Wine, I beg you for my Sake to let them have very good. The Red wine ought to be strong body'd without Syrrups. Good White Wines of all kinds generally keep best. A man would be loath to be poyson'd with London brewings in the East Indies, and yet we really sometimes run that risque.

Capt. Pinnell has promised me to deliver you a piece of China Damask on my account, which I desire you to accept as a Present.

From your Friend,  
and Ser't,  
J. C.

YORK FORT,  
*May 5th, 1714.*

TO MRS. ELIZABETH COLLET.

MY DEAR BETTY,

I find my Self under a necessity of writing you a second Letter by this Conveyance, on account of the enclos'd Letter address'd to your Self.

The author being unknown to you, it is fit I should give you some Account of him. He is second to my Self on this Coast ; and has been by me made Chief of Bantall, a pretty strong Garrison about an hundred miles distant from this place where he has the command of three subordinate

Factory's. He is about 25 years of Age, a prudent and vertuous Man. There is so great a Friendship between us that I always write to him in the Stile and with the freedom of a Father, which he returns with the duty and affection of a Son. He has solicited me for leave to begin a correspondence with you ; which I have granted. I require of you to return his civility's in the Stile and with the Freedom of a Sister. 'Tis true he has carry'd his address a little further but for that part I shall impose nothing on you ; besides that it will be time enough to enter into farther engagements when you see one another. He is likely to succeed me in the Government, and if he lives will be Master of an easy Fortune in six or seven Years, and it is very probable may return to England with me.

He does not take the Liberty to desire you to send him your Picture ; but he earnestly begs it of me ; I therefore Order you to have it drawn in little by a good Hand and to send it to him as a Present from a Sister to a Brother.

He has a Sister in London who is a young widdow ; her husband's Name was Warner, Capt. of an East Indian Ship. I believe she will find you out and visit you and perhaps some other young Lady's of his Relations. If any of them should come, be sure to treat them with the utmost civility, and be not over cautious of your expense. I shall desire your Unkle Bedwell to supply you with all things necessary.

I must put you to the trouble of sitting twice for your picture. It will be some pleasure to my Self to look on the Shadow when I cannot converse with the substance. I would also have one picture of each of your Sisters. You will get the five well done for about twenty five pound which I desire your Unkle Bedwell to disburse on that occasion. I would have them all done in little and handsomely fitted up, and sent to me by the first ship.

My Dear, keep your Self disengag'd. You have reason to hope for Fortunes very different from what you have lately gone through. I promise never to impose a husband on you and only expect that you do not dispose of your Self without



my consent. I shall always have a great regard to your inclinations and shall never oppose them, unless to do otherwise should be evidently destructive of your happiness. May God Almighty bless you in Soul and Body, may you increase in vertue, prudence, and every lovely Qualification and may you once more embrace

Your Affect'te

Father,

J. C.

You must direct to Mr. Henry White, Chief at Bantall. He has sent you a Gold nutmeg grater in the form of a heart, and a small Gold case for Nutmeg.

YORK FORT,

*May 5th, 1714.*

TO MRS. ANN BEDWELL.

DEAR SISTER,

. . . All my Addresses to you have so much of int'rest in them that nothing but my confidence in your friendship can excuse them. I have now a fresh Occasion for your Assistance. You will find inclos'd some Letters to my Daughter Betty I desire you to read them all before you deliver them to her, and to give her all needfull directions for the preservation of her Female forms in so nice a Correspondence, wherein I think she ought to avoid both the distance of a Mistress and the fondness of a Lover ; but if she can hit it, to write in the Stile and with the freedom of a Sister.

I have clos'd my Letter to my Brother and therefore desire you to tell him that I desire him to supply her with what Money you shall see convenient, and particularly to pay for the Pictures I have Order'd and request you to take care that they be done by a good hand.

I am with the utmost Sincerity,

You most Affect'te

Brother and Humble Serv't,

J. C.

YORK FORT,  
*May 16th, 1714.*

TO MRS. ELIZABETH COLLET.

MY DEAR GIRL,

I have wrote to you at large in your Unkle Bedwell's packet by Capt. Pinnell ; since which, Capt. Pinnell has offer'd me to bring you a black boy that I have. His name is Bacchus ; he speaks a little English and I believe will never grow much bigger. He was formerly presented to me by Mr. White ; I now present him to you. Let him be taught to read, and make him know you will be obey'd. He is a good temper'd Lad and I would not have you part with him unless you should make a present of him to your Aunt Bedwell, which I leave to your own discretion. I wish you all Prosperity in Soul and Body,

and am your Affec'te father,  
 J. C.

YORK FORT,  
*June 2nd, 1714.*

TO THE HON'BLE EDWARD HARRISON, ESQ.,

ETC.

HON'BLE SIR,

The repeated instances of your Friendship and the design of this address which is to ask advice will I doubt not excuse the freedom with which I shall communicate my present Circumstances.

When I left England I stood oblig'd in Conscience (tho' freed by Law) for about £3000. My Friends advanc'd me about £1000 more for my Outsett, which was all lost by my Capture. The proffits of my Government do not more than defray my Expenses here, and maintain my Family in England. By Trade I make about £2000 per annum, so that in my four Years I may hope (God granting life and Success), to gain about £8000 pounds. One half of this is devoted as

above, and I should be willing to send half the Remainder home as a small provision for my four daughters in case of my death. My remaining Stock at this Calculation will be about £2000.

At my departure I had encouragement given me to expect some farther advancement, if my conduct here should be approv'd. 'Twas suggested either to succeed Your Hon'r or to have the Presidency at Bengall.

I find my Self considerably advanc'd in Station at Fort St. Geo., and at the expiration of my term, here may probably be third or fourth, but for want of knowledge of many particulars there I cannot determine whether it will be my int'rest to go thither directly, or to continue here, (for I cannot Suspect being turn'd Out) a few Years longer.

Two thousand pounds Stock in Trade will I doubt hardly be sufficient to support the Rank I ought to maintain there, much less to make any improvement for my Family ; and I do not know whether any Post I may expect in the Company's Service will help out considerably or not.

I should be very unwilling to spend at Fort St. George the little I may by that time have got on the West Coast. I know not what the Government of Fort St. Davids is worth, but suppose it more than I can make here, or however preferable as being Second to Fort St. George.

As things appear to me at this distance I shou'd be unwilling to quit this Government except in exchange for Fort St. Davids, or a fair probability of something farther. Besides the Proffit, there is some inclination to a Place as it were, founded by one's own hands, and which appears capable of large improvement.

I humbly request Your Honour's advice on the whole, what end I may reasonably propose ? and by what means I may probably attain it ? My Constitution is firm, and I am not apprehensive of any danger from this Climate especially on my remove to Marlborough. My desires are moderate, a tolerable provision for my Family, and a decent Support

in a private life at home is all I ask, tho' I should not refuse more if offer'd.

If your advice should be to resign here, I desire to be inform'd whether I ought to ask leave, or may without any ceremony, at the expiration of my term, quit this Coast, and take my place at Fort St. George ?

I will not trespass farther but conclude with the assurance that I am, with the utmost respect and duty

Hon'ble Sir,

Y'r Hon'r's most obedient

Humble Serv't,

J. C.

P.S. Your Hon'r will I doubt not agree with me that this ought to be burnt.

YORK FORT,

*June 8th, 1714.*

TO MR. JOHN COLLET.

MY DEAR SON,

This is wrote on a probability of meeting you at Fort St. George, otherwise it returns by the Ship which brings it.

As I am a perfect Stranger to the circumstances you are in, I can only proceed upon conjectures and give conditional advice. I suppose you would hardly go to Fort St. George without being in the Company's Service. If you are so, your Duty and int'rest will oblige you to an entire Submission to Govr. Harrison in whom you may expect to find a Father. He has been to me a generous Friend. Follow his directions in all things and be very diligent to improve your Self in Writing and Accounts, without which you will be hardly qualify'd to rise in India. Be sure to avoid the Vices of the place, I mean Women and drinking, as the fatall rock on which so many Youths miscarry and lose all their hopes of happyness both in this world and that which is to come. In short, trust in God, and perform your duty and be assured

of a blessing. You shall not want assistance from me to engage in business as soon as Govr. Harrison shall think it convenient, and in the meantime I shall order you an handsome maintenance, only remember that frugality and industry are the foundation on which a large Fortune must be raised.

May God Almighty give you wisdom and vertue and then no blessing will be wanting.

I am your Affec'te  
Father,  
J. C.

P.S. Capt. (Freak) Godwin is a man you may confide in, to whom you may communicate anything you would have me know without reserve.

YORK FORT,  
*June 15th, 1714.*

TO THE HON'BLE EDWD. HARRISON, ESQ.,  
GOVR., ETC.

HON'BLE SIR,

. . . I expect my Son will come to India by this Year's Shipping . . . and I think it very probable he may be with you when this arrives. I hope he will behave himself so as to gain your Approbation. I doubt the three Years' Ramble he has had will have done him little Service in the matter of Writing and Accounts. . . . I therefore request that he may be kept close to business til you shall think him qualify'd for any employment that may Offer. . . . My present thoughts are that the China trade would be the best for him to engage in, and whenever you shall think him qualify'd to go Second Supercargo thither, I shall be willing to give him a 1000 Pagodas Stock for himself and to adventure one thousand pagodas more in the Ship's stock, and if it should be thought necessary one or 2000 pagodas more upon Respondentia; but I entirely Submit this Scheme to your

Honr's judgment and resign my Son to your dispose. If he should come hither I shall set him to work here till I have an Opportunity of sending him to you.

. . . I now come to give Your Hon'r some Account of Affairs here in the quality of your Deputy.

Our Generall will inform you of the death of Mr. Wathen and Mr. Clopton. . . . I must say that in case Mr. White, who is very infirm, or Mr. Lloyd should drop, I should be at a very great Loss what to do ; I have not one Man in the place qualify'd for either of their posts. They are all young and inexperienc'd except the two of Councill who will always remain so, and besides are not fit to be trusted. I would therefore propose one thing to your Consideration. Capt. Godwin is a man of sense and prudence and honour, with whom upon such an occasion I should be entirely satisfied. It is not worth his while to come into Councill lower than 3rd. What I would propose is that a Dormant Commission might be sent over in case of Mr. White and Mr. Lloyd's death constituting him 3rd of the Coast.

. . . I have been oblig'd to break Capt. Orrill for prating saucily. I should not have gone to that extremity, but in hopes of reforming him. He is a good Officer, and only wants to be tongue ty'd. If he behaves himself well in his present condition I purpose to restore him. . . .

I conclude with, etc.,

J. C.

YORK FORT,

*Aug. 23rd, 1714.*

TO MRS. MARY COLLET.

HON'D MOTHER,

I wrote to you by Capt. Pinnell who sail'd from hence in May last. None of the Company's Ships are yet arriv'd ; two separate Stock Ships<sup>1</sup> have touch'd here who came from

<sup>1</sup> " Separate stock ships " were those employed by merchants who had joined the new " English " company but refused to come into the joint-stock when the " English " company amalgamated with the old

England in October last ; this comes by one of them call'd the Clapham Galley, Capt Wilkes, Commander.

I wait with some impatience for an account of my Affairs in England. I thank God they are in a very good posture in India. I have now compleated two years in this place and excepting the Pestilence last year have enjoy'd as good a measure of health as ever I did in England ; I am also sanguine enough to expect to return to my Native Country again with a good Reputation and moderate Estate ; in the mean time my greatest solicitude is for the education of my Children, in which I shall grudge no expense. The effects of a Good Education will last when a fair Fortune may fail. I think my Self more indebted to You and my honour'd Father deceas'd for my Education than for my Being and fortune.

I believe Capt. Pinnell will be arriv'd before this and that he will be willing to give you a fuller Account of my Circumstances than is proper for a Letter. I shall therefore conclude this with acquainting you that the Blessing of God attends me in all my ways and that I enjoy constant peace and serenity of mind. I dayly pray him to grant the same blessings to you and yours.

I am, Hon'd Mother,  
Your Obed't Son,  
J. C.

YORK FORT,  
*Augt. 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1714.*

TO MR. SAMUEL COLLET.

DEAR BROTHER,

. . . It would be a jest for a Man in India to send his reflections on the Affairs of Europe to England ; the scene will be very much alter'd between the date of his Advices

"London" company. In 1708 power was given to buy them out on three years' notice after 1711, which was accordingly done. The ships referred to must have been the last, or almost the last, to sail on account of the Separate Stock.

and the receipt of the Reflections on them. And yet I can't help observing that Doctor Sacheverell has the parsonage of St. Andrew Holborn. I am told the old Gentleman at Lambeth is going off the Stage, and that 'tis expected the Doctor will Succeed him, which I heartily wish on Account of the Old proverb—when things are at worst they will mend.

If I live to come home as is very likely I think to turn parson. I am serving my apprenticeship here ; I preach every Sunday and all the Natives really take me for a divine. I have offer'd to dispute with some of the Mahometan priests, and did engage with one who is a Sultan tho' in Orders.<sup>1</sup> He came off with an excuse that he was not so well vers'd in the doctrinall part of their Religion as some others. I desired him to bring their Padre Buzaar as they call him, that is high priest ; which he promis'd but brought this excuse from him that I understood the Mahometan Religion better than himself which he was not willing the People should know, as they would certainly do if he took the Liberty of Conversing with Me on that Subject.<sup>2</sup> But tho' I cannot bring the Mahometans to an engagement, I have succeeded better with the Roman Catholicks and have brought over the fattest Sheep of their flock to be a constant attendant at our publick Worship. . . .

I shall be glad to hear what Reflections will be made in England on my Assurance in Christ'ning the new Fort and Town I am now building MARLBOROUGH, a name which I endeavour to perpetuate in India because it seems to be forgot in England. Long may this Fort retain that glorious Name and may it sometimes be said that Govr. Collet built it. You will guess by this that I have no pretensions at your Court ; and in truth my Maxims of Government differ

<sup>1</sup> The Sultan of Menangkābo was regarded as *imām*, as well as king. Others of less dignity probably claimed the same spiritual privileges, for I do not think the English were in touch with the inland state of Menangkābo.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, pp. 366 *sqq.*, for a brief account of Islam in Sumatra.



so widely from your practice that I should be able to do nothing there. I always perform what I promise and make my threatenings good where the express condition is not comply'd with.

I have one employment forc'd on me whether I will or not, and that is being Judge of Civill Affairs among the Malays whose Laws I do not know. There happen'd lately a controversy amongst some of their head family's about the distribution of a deceas'd Great Man's Estate ; the Ordinary Judges durst not decide it nor the King to whom the Party's appeal'd ; at length they agreed to referr the Matter to my decision ; the King himself together with the Judges and the party's concerned requested me to accept the reference. I refus'd to act as Judge but offer'd to undertake the part of a Mediator and to tell them my Opinion with the Reasons of it ; they said it was all One to them for whatever I should think that they would stand by. I heard the Cause at large and when I had declar'd my Opinion all the Party's acquiesc'd and return'd me thanks.

The Kings often desire me to instruct them in the Nature of Our Laws and have already introduc'd some things that I have taught them into their own administration. . . . I endeavour to inculcate that principle of policy as well as of Religion—Do unto Others as you would have Others do unto you in the same circumstances. They often intreat me to stay many Years with them and say they are sure so long their Country will prosper. I can't omit one odd instance of their kindness. No less than three of them have made separate Offers of Wives or Daughters to attend me to which I have always given a Serious reply that the Christian Religion does not allow such practices. This I take to be one reason why they think I am a priest, for 'tis usual for their princes when they grow in Years to enter into Orders by which they think themselves oblig'd to a Stricter Life than formerly . . .

Your Affectionate Brother,  
J. C.

MARLBOROUGH FORT,  
ON THE WEST COAST OF SUMATRA,  
*Aug. 24, 1714.*

TO RICHARD STEELE, ESQ.

SIR,

I left England just at the time you had compleated your Tatlers and left it with the less regret, because I thought the noblest entertainment I had ever met with was at an end ; but I find my Self very agreeably disappointed. The Spectator has visited me in this Side the Globe ; his conversation relieves me from the fatigue of business ; by him I am always entertain'd and often improv'd. The Bible has the first place in our Study as teaching me the whole compass of my Duty to God and Man ; Mr. Lock who first taught me to distinguish between Words and things has the next place ; Mr. Steele who had taught me a more easy and agreeable manner of practising Vertue it Self, precedes all Others. I hope the grateful acknowledgments of an honest mind for being made Wiser and better will not be unacceptable to one who professes doing Good.

The Spectator No. 389<sup>1</sup> carry's conviction to any man that dare make use of his reason, tho' I think you make a Concession to the Atheist of a fact which may be very well prov'd against him. I have visited the sev'rall Quarters of the Globe and made some observation on Men and things ; I liv'd some time among the Hottentots and do think Human Nature is more sunk in them than in any other part of our Species except the Atheist himself, but how contemptible soever they may appear in other Respects they are not so far abandon'd as to have lost the Sense of a Deity. . . .

You will not find the name of the place I date from in the Mapp. Fondness for a military structure of my own

<sup>1</sup> Concerning atheists.

raising led me to give it the most illustrious Name in history, MARLBOROUGH, the Glory and the shame of Great Britain. The Glory is his own, the Shame is——

I am, S'r,

Your much oblig'd

humble Servant,

J. C.

P.S. I had formerly some acquaintance with Mr. Hughs, mention'd in your last *Spectator*,<sup>1</sup> and with Mr. Richard Martin one of your board at the Stamp Office.

MARLBOROUGH FORT,

*August 26th, 1714.*

TO MRS. ELISABETH COLLET.

MY DEAR DAUGHTER,

. . . The Ship by which this comes makes so short a stay that I believe Mr. White will hardly hear of her Arrival here time enough to send any letters to England by her ; if he should I shall forward them in the same packet with this, for you may expect he will prove a constant correspondent.

Instead of enlarging on the instructions I have already given for your conduct, I enjoyn you to study the *Spectators*, especially those which relate to Religion and Domestic Life. Next to the Bible you cannot read any writings so much to your purpose for the improvement of your mind and the conduct of your Actions.

Present my kind Love to your Sisters and let them know that as soon as I receive a Line from any of them it shall be answer'd personally ; in the mean time I expect they should submit to your directions in all things ; and I would have you observe the directions of your Aunt Bedwell as to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Spectator*, No. 555.

your Education which I desire may be as compleat as possible.

I pray God to bless you all in Soul and Body and am  
Your tenderly affec'te Father,  
J. C.

Copy of a Letter from E[dward] H[arrison], Esq., to J.C.,  
receiv'd by the *Frances* Jan. 19, 1714/15.

FORT ST. GEORGE,  
Dec. 18, 1714.

SIR,

I shall endeavour to answer your particular Letter dated the 2nd of June with as much plainness and sincerity as you have ask'd my advice therein.

And first I observe the obligation you lye under as a good Christian and a man of honour. Your resolution is really praiseworthy and I doubt not but God will bless your endeavour accordingly.

I dare answer that the proffits of your employ do not more than you mention, if so much, and as for the Sum you hope to be Master of in trade at four years' end. . . . I heartily wish you meet with no disappointment. I dare say in the first place that the persons concern'd in England will think themselves very honourably dealt by if at the 4 years end when you think of moving hither you direct them to draw bills upon you for the Sum you design to pay, by which means they will have their mony near as soon as if you sent it home, and you will have the advantage of employing it in trade for two years in the mean time. I make no doubt but they will be glad to make you easy in this particular.

And as for the sum you intend to send home as a small provision for your daughters in case of mortality, I must confess 'tis a wary manner of proceeding, but I must declare against it in my opinion. The same provision will allways be secure for them whether you send the mony home or no.

When you are here there is no fear but your judgment in men will direct you to some friends in case of your mortality that will be honest to your Children. Why then should you divest yourself of so much mony to make a small provision for them, which being well employ'd here in trade may greatly contribute to the raising your self and them in the world ; and if you miscarry they are allways sure of as much or more at least. And if it be objected that they will be marriageable in the mean time and this sum may help to marry them, I will venture to affirm that the credit of your employ abroad, and the expectation of greater matters in future will go thrice as farr in providing them good husbands as the sum you propose to send home. Wherefore, let me persuade you to alter this part of your scheme.

Whether or no the suggestions you mention may have anything in them or were meant otherwise than a bait to tempt you to the West Coast with cheerfulness, you are best judge, by knowing the persons and judgeing of their int'rest and integrity ; if you had nam'd them I could have given you my opinion. Our friend Pa[g]e has still power enuff for any thing I know as yet, and he is a hearty friend where he takes. Mr. D[awson]ne has all the He[athco]lte interest and is a true sincere honest man, faithfull to his word and has the Company's interest at heart. If these men promis'd I dare say they will perform now they have seen your capacity to serve : but you must consider Mr. Pa[g]e is in a dangerous state of health, and if he drops things are in my opinion like to run in another Channell.

To come closer to the point. You have a very good chance for what you aim at here and a certainty of being near the chair. But if you should voluntarily stay where you are when your time is expir'd, it may be a handle for putting you off the role here. I think you must be your own enemy if you don't use the advantage of your contract ; and the words in your orders and ours being (that you shall have liberty if you desire it to go to Fort St. George) I think they imply that you may come away when your time is out

without asking leave, but you are too good a judge of things, and too faithfull a Servant to the Company to take the advantage of that and Leave the place to I know not who. It will be fit that you give previous notice of your intentions, both home, and hither, in time that provision may be made ; but have a care when you write home, that you do not give some people a handle to pin you down where you are. Half what you write in confidence to me of your liking and tenderness to the place, I'll answer would do the business effectually.

Your Salary and the honest perquisites of your employ, if 3rd or 4th here, with the privilege of the table will maintain you very well, and admitting you agree to what I propose about your Stock you will have sufficient tools to work with ; and I tell you without flattery, a man of your principles and way of life may have as much mony at interest here as he can find an advantageous employment for.

What the Deputy government of Fort St. David is really worth is one thing and what some men will make of it is another. The Salary is not so good as you have at present ; the honest perquisites are better, and a pretty advantageous trade may be drove there and here ; and Lastly as you say 'tis usually (but not allways) the 2nd Station upon the Coast. Mr. Farmer was not so much as of the Councill here. But if you get settled there I believe you would hold your ground and stand fair for the place.

If your inclination is so strong to the place where you are for the reasons you mention, I fear you will stay too long. Be your constitution never so firm, dangerous attacks will happen at some seasons. For the Company's interest and my own ease were I inclined to continue here, I should counsell you to stay. For your own and your family's sake I say—come hither as soon as you can. Your son will easily fall into good business under your umbrage. But by the way, Let him Struggle to mend his hand.

Fearing this will be too late for your Ships I will by

ours now on hand endeavour with my friends at home to pave the way for your removall hither and I dare believe that what I wrote last year will produce something.

Thus I have answer'd your request very freely and your Letter is burnt. You may use your discretion with this which contains the Sincere Sentiments of

S'r,

Your very reall friend  
and Humble Servant.

MARLBOROUGH FORT,

*Jan. 3rd, 1714/5.*

TO MR. JOHN TRAVERS.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

. . . Mr. Shyelling so fully answers the character you give him that I have made him Accountant, which intitles him to an additionall Salary of £20 per ann. and Other advantages. As for Mr. Green I have plac'd him under the Secretary who is a very sober Man and will make him perfect Master of his business, besides he will be continually under my own eye and thus too you see what weight your recommendations have with me.

. . . I am deeply touch'd with the loss of so many of Our Friends and the circumstances of so many more. I cannot read over the melancholy List you sent me without tears. My own prosperity does not render me the less sensible of the Afflictions of my Friends. And the hopes of being able in time to do some of them real Services excites me to a greater diligence in my own affairs. My first work which is to discharge all former obligations will I hope be accomplish'd in a Short time ; my next which is to make comfortable provision for my family is also in View, and after that the only true use of wealth is doing good.

Your Ecclesiastical Affairs appear to me to be in a very bad condition . . . tho' of them all I think that the church of which I profess myself a Member in the most declining

condition. However I am no more asham'd to own my self an Anabaptist in India than I was to make the same profession in London ; but it seems to me as if Popery were likely to swallow up all. . . .

I am with real Respect,  
S'r, y'r affec'te Friend and  
Humble Servant.

MARLBOROUGH FORT,

*Jan'y 3rd, 1714/5.*

TO MR. MARTIN BEDWELL.

SIR,

I hardly know how to make a return to the compliments you are pleas'd to make me which tho' wrote in a cold clymate rise to the height of our Eastern Style, which you know is not a little figurative. However I return my hearty thanks for your kind congratulations . . .

Those Friends of mine that have thoughts of seeing me land in England with an amiable Indian Princess will find themselves disappointed. Female Charms are very low in these parts, so that if I should ever make a Second Adventure some of my old Acquaintance stand fairest to be attack'd, tho' if my Mind does not alter I am of opinion that if I live to return to England I shall choose a re'tird Life without Wife or equipage.

My Son is safe arriv'd and apply's himself to such business as is requisite to qualifye him for pushing his own fortune in India. He informs me that he lyes under great obligations to your Self, for which I return a Father's thanks. He has had a rough entrance into the world, but has now the prospect of a smooother way.

I heartily wish you health and prosperity and am,  
S'r, Your Affect'te Friend  
and humble Serv't,

J. C.



MARLBOROUGH FORT,  
*Jan'y 3rd, 1714/5.*

TO MR. JOHN QUINCY.<sup>1</sup>

DEAR BROTHER,

I rec'd yours of the 12th March last by Mr. Shylling whom you recommend. . . . The event has shown that you made a right judgment. . . .

I agree with you in wishing for an opportunity of a free conversation in confidence, but since that cannot be, I assure you that I am heartily sorry that the expression I us'd in my Letter to my Sister has given you so much uneasiness and take your word that I had been in some measure misled in forming the Judgment which occasion'd it. I am willing that all past misunderstandings be buried and to begin upon a new foot the title of Friend and Brother with which I heartily salute you.

I congratulate you on the prospect you have of success in your Affairs, and shall contribute what lyes in my power towards it ; in Order to which I send you enclos'd two Letters, one directed to Mr. Page, the other to Mr. Dawsonne desiring their favor towards you. I esteem them the most powerful Men in the Company.

I return you thanks for gracing my Friend's funerall with a poem, and particularly for doing me justice in it, but the Subject is too melancholy for me to enlarge on.

I also thank you for the Service done my Son in being one of his Security ; it was a kindness I shall not forget. I write to my Sister inclos'd which pray deliver her. I heartily wish you and yours health and prosperity and am

Your Affec'te Brother and  
 Humble Serv't,

J. C.

<sup>1</sup> See biography in *D.N.B.*

MARLBOROUGH FORT,  
*Jan'y 3rd, 1714/5.*

TO MRS. MARY QUINCY.

DEAR SISTER,

I receiv'd yours by my Son and am heartily sorry the expression us'd in my Letter to you should give my Brother so much uneasiness. I assure you I did not intend it should, and have now wrote him what I believe will be to his Satisfaction.

My Son tells me you take my description of this Country to be romantick but he says it comes much short of the truth, and excepting the pestilence with which I among others was affected last year, I have never enjoy'd a firmer state of health in my life for two Years together. My Son is also very well and hard at work to qualify himself for a further ramble.

I am pleas'd with the character you give me of my Daughter Betty. She has got a Lover on this Side the Globe. I desire you to assist her in managing the correspondence tho' I have no Letters from him by this Conveyance, he being at present indispos'd.

I believe you will be pleas'd with what I have wrote my Brother about Mr. Shyllinge. . . .

I heartily wish you health and prosperity and am

Your most Affec'te

Bro'r and humble Serv't,

J. C.

[Letter to his Mother 3.1.1714/15 omitted.]

MARLBOROUGH FORT,  
*Jan'y 3rd, 1714/5.*

TO MRS. ELISABETH COLLET.

DEAR BETTY,

. . . I have received yours by the Rochester without any date which pray for the future remember to put in your Letters.

You write for Silk to make you a Gown and Petticoat.

I have very good by me but dare not venture to send you any, for if seiz'd 'tis not only the loss of the Silk but the forfeiture of £200. But I have done as well ; I have sent money to your unkle Bedwell with Orders to make you a handsome Allowance not exceeding £50 per ann. for all expenses. Your Sisters do not yet need so large an allowance ; when they do I hope to be able to make it.

Mr. White is very ill at Bantall so that I do not expect any Letter from him by this conveyanc<sup>e</sup> ; but he has sent you a very rich present of a Gold tweezer case which I have consign'd to your unkle Bedwell, who will deliver it to you. Be sure you do not fail to send your own and Sisters' pictures ordered, by Capt. Pinnell if it be not done before this come to hand.

Present my Love to all your Sisters and tell them I expect to receive Letters from themselves very shortly and then they may promise themselves direct address from me. I pray God allmighty to bless you and them and am

Y'r Affec'te Father,

J. C.

P.S. I have sent a Quilt stitched with yellow Silk in a box with some Other things to Mr. Page and have desir'd him to deliver the Quilt and another stitch'd in colours to your unkle Bedwell whom I have ordered to deliver that Quilt stitch'd with yellow to your self, which you are to receive as my present.

MARLBOROUGH FORT,

*Jan'y 3rd, 1714/5.*

TO MR. SAMUEL COLLET.

DEAR BROTHER,

The inclos'd was wrote at my Leisure for your entertainment. I have receiv'd since your severall Letters dated October the 12th and 29th and Feb. the 14th and 21st last.

I observe the particulars you write concerning my own affairs in England and do not wonder at the difficulty's attending them. I doubt not they have before this time

taken a much better turn. I think my Self particularly Oblig'd to you for your kindness, not only to my Son but also to his companion Mr. Bunting. The poor Gentleman has at length lost his life in my Service ; he was indispos'd at his Arrivall here by a flux which seiz'd him at Madrass ; but we had hopes of his recovery. He was constituted a Factor, I giving a £1000 security for his truth ; but his distemper increasing upon him he dy'd the 24th Nov'r. I had paid £50 on his account and presented him in money and goods about the same value. I shall remit his effects to Mr. Richardson.

. . . I find Death has been as free among my acquaintance in England, 3 out of four which together with my Self made a select Club being dead since my coming away. I will not say this place is quite so healthful as Highgate or Hamstead but I think it much healthier than many parts of England I have seen.

I reckon my Self indebted to you on my Son and Mr. Bunting's account not only in thanks but Value and therefore send enclos'd my Bill on my Brother Bedwell for £100 sterling payable 7 days after sight, which place to Account not as a present but in satisfaction of a debt contracted.

I am pleas'd at the account you give me of the new heresys arising in England. I wish you had sent me over what has been wrote by Mr. Whiston and Mr. Clarkson on that subject. I am the more curious because some months before yours came to hand, I happ'd on a paper writ on that subject. The Author is unknown but 'tis plain he is a rank Heretick and d̄serves a Doctors Commons prosecution as well as Mr. Whyston himself. I send you a copy of it inclos'd and should be glad to receive a good compilation of such erroneous doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

I observe what you write about Mr. Hunter. I do not

<sup>1</sup> The "new heresys" were the revival of Arian doctrine, which William Whiston expounded in his *Apostolic Constitutions* (1708) and *Primitive Christianity Revived* (1711); he was deprived of the Lucasian Chair at Cambridge and threatened with prosecution by Convocation. The "paper" mentioned was Collet's own composition. Extracts will be found below.

think anything he has said worth taking notice of, excepting his report that I said I had gain'd £2000 by the purchase of the Jane, which is so far from being true that before the Company had made up the account by the Avarilla I was above £100 loser out of pocket by that purchase as the Company very well know.

In yours of the 29th of October you recommend Mr. Gaines as an object of compassion I have made him a hir'd Writer at 10 dollars a month Salary but find him sottish and idle.

The young Gentleman you recommend, I mean Mr. Green, is plac'd in the Secretary's Office which I believe his Friends will well approve.

I receiv'd another Letter from you subjoyn'd to one wrote to your Self by Mr. Barnes, recommending I know not who, for neither he nor you have named any body; indeed you mention the Bearer, but when I have a hundred Letters thrown together, promiscuously brought by severall persons 'tis impossible for me to recollect from whom I receiv'd each of them severally.

I could talk to you all day but I have about half an hundred Letters to write by this conveyance. I therefore conclude with my hearty prayers to Almighty God for his blessing on you and yours.

I am,

Your most affec'te Brother,

J. C.

[No superscription and no signature  
but in fact addressed to his brother  
Samuel Collet.]

No address  
or date.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

. . . Tho' I am deeply engaged in an active Life, yet I find some hours for reflection. I pursue my Old Course in reading not so much to make my Self Master of the Author's

Sentiments as to correct, form, and improve my own ; and that without the least regard to any Authority short of Divine or any Standard short of Reason. You know what were the inmost Sentiments of my Soul concerning Religion when I left England ; I am daily more and more confirm'd in the principles of Natural Religion and in the divine authority of the old and new Testament, so as to yield a ready assent to whatsoever is plainly and clearly exprest in them ; but I acknowledge that the determination of a General Councill, the joynt Opinion of all the Fathers, the decrees of a Convocation, and the Acts of a British Parliament all put together are of no weight at all with me in matters of Faith.

There is one point in reveal'd Religion which at first view appear'd to me so difficult that I had not the courage to attempt it, but yielded an implicit Faith to the Revelation without endeavouring to understand clearly what that is ; till within these few months on hearing St. Athanasius' Creed read in our publick devotions, I could not help fixing my mind for some time on the doctrine of the Trinity as there explain'd.

[A long analysis of his attitude to the Athanasian Creed and of his dissent from it follows.]

I know very well this doctrine would expose me to the inquisition at Rome, and to the Court of Doctors Commons in London, but I thank God I am out of the reach of such arguments, which how much soever they might confound would never convince me. However I should be very glad to have this Scheme thoroughly examin'd by your Self and two or three more whom you may guess at ; and let me know your sentiments with the same freedom I send you mine. We know one another so well, that a subscription of our names is not necessary tho' I cannot conclude without the Assurance that I am

Your most Affec'te

Friend and Humble Serv't.

P.S. I cannot help subjoyning one reflection on this

subject. The Council of Trent have guarded the absurdity's of Transubstantiation with Fire and faggot, and St. Athanasius has guarded the palpable contradiction of Three being but One in the same respects that they are three, with hell and damnation, which march in the front and bring up the Rear of his famous Creed ; it was indeed necessary to fright them out of their Wits, to make them afraid of their lives when such doctrines were to be obtruded on them. I believe seriously that many Persons both pious and learned have been deterr'd from examining with this doctrine and from considering the palpablè contradictions in the Athanasian Creed by that damnatory sentence contain'd in it. For my own part I shall whenever I meet with unintelligible mystery's guarded by hell flames take it for granted that I may safely reject them in the Lump, without taking the pains to examine them. The Spirit of the Gospel is of another kind, and its doctrines of Another Nature ; instead of obtruding Mystery's on us it has reveal'd those things which were mystery's before to us ; and instead of threatening them with Coals and Gibbets, hell and damnation, if they dare to examine the Articles of their Faith, it expressly commands them to search, try and examine with the utmost strictness every doctrine that is propos'd to them, whether it be of God or Men and upon such Examination to judge for themselves.<sup>1</sup>

MARLBOROUGH FORT,  
*Jan. 3rd, 1714/5.*

TO MR. MAJOR CARPENDER.

S'R,

. . . I hope it will not be long before I shall be able to make a beginning of clearing the conscientious obligations

<sup>1</sup> The particular interest of the present and other similar passages in Collet's letters lies in their illustration of the trend of thought which a couple of generations later was to produce the Unitarian movement.

I lye under with you. I assure you there is no circumstance of my present prosperity which affords me so great satisfaction as that prospect and I tell you in confidence that I hope to compleat it in two Years more.

You see I write with my accustom'd freedom. I hope for the same frank return and shall be extremely pleased to hear of your prosperity. I pray present my humble service to Mrs. Carpender and tell her I should be glad to know from her how my Girls improve. I am,

S'r, Y'r affect'te Friend  
and humble Serv't.

MARLBOROUGH FORT,  
*Jan'y 3rd, 1714/5.*

TO MRS. ANN BEDWELL.

DEAR SISTER,

I receiv'd yours dated December 19th 1713 and with great joy read the Assurance of your friendship and the account you give of my family.

. . . The care of my Daughters' education, now my Son is with me, is one of the most weighty on my mind and in that I must continue to desire your assistance. I do not doubt of providing moderate Fortunes for them, and hope one day to see them comfortably settled in the world.

I am very much griev'd at the Misfortunes of my Father and Brother Harding and that they are fallen with double weight on the former, but I am pleas'd to see that the latter has been supported by the same kind hand that fed my Self and Family when I had not Bread to eat, of which he himself has given me a very full relation.

. . . I really think this place healthfull to a temperate and carefull Man and as for my self I have no more apprehensions of dying than if I were at Monpelier, or than a good Man ought to have in every place.



I pray dayly for your health and prosperity and am with most sincere affection,

Dear Sister,

Your Loving Brother  
and humble Serv't,  
J. C.

MARLBOROUGH FORT,  
*Jan'y 3rd, 1714/5.*

TO THE REV. MR. MOSES LOWMAN.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

The joy given you by mine was fully return'd by yours dated Nov'r the 12th, 1713. I mention the date, not as a man of business but as regretting the distance which unavoidably obstructs the intercourses even of Friendship for so long time.

I am very well pleas'd to find my character has been vindicated in England. I am inform'd it has been attacked with the utmost malice ; and tho' I am Philosopher enough to despise unjust censures yet I am so much a man of this World as to have a due regard for my own Int'rest. I know every Ship will bring complaints let who will be Governour ; my first care is to approve my conduct to God and my own conscience, and next to my Masters, and for the rest I am perfectly careless. . . .

I am really sorry for the compliment made me by the Royall Society, being too deeply engag'd in an active Life to have any time to spare on meer amusements and I have not assurance enough to write that Hon'ble Body a Letter about nothing. As you are acquainted with severall of the Members I request you as Opportunity offers to make an apology for me.

On many accounts I am very well pleas'd to find myself an Inhabitant of Asia, tho' at this distance I am nearly touch'd with the Loss of some, and the misfortunes of

others whom you know I sincerely Loved. I purpose to change my Quarters next year ; my time here expires the 23rd of July, 1716. I design then to go to Fort St. George and if nothing better be allotted me to take my place in Councill there, of which I have advis'd the Company. 'Tis possible my Friends in England may be surpris'd at this resolution ; if so I must recommend so much implicit faith to them as to desire they would believe that I know India and my own int'rest in it better than they can pretend to, so that I shall expect to receive your answer to this at Fort St. George.

You are mistaken in thinking human nature less corrupted among the Indians than with you ; 'tis true they come short of that refined Wickedness which is to be found in Europe but they also come short of that solid vertue which is also to be found there. I do not know above two or three who deserve to be call'd men of Probity ; one of them is a sovereign Prince, the most powerful in these parts. He calls me Father and asks my advice in the Government of his own people. . . . The Malays affect to appear cunning but are easily baffled by an open deportment. However it is necessary to make them fear as well as Love. I have gone through two successfull Wars without the loss of one man, and yet have perform'd what the whole country believ'd impossible and at the same time have gain'd the Love of the people I have conquer'd. . . .

. . . The principles of Religion and the practice of Devotion gain on me daily, and in proportion the least tendency towards Enthusiasm or Bigotry lose ground. The authority of a British convocation does not weigh one grain of Pepper with me, nor have I more regard to St. Athanasius than to the Council of Trent or Synod of Dort. I firmly believe what is reveal'd in the Holy Scriptures but acknowledge no other Authority. As head of the church here I have excluded St. A——s creed from the Liturgy and do not suffer it to be read on the days appointed, because I do not love to hear my self damn'd over and over for not

believing what I think to the full as incredible as transubstantiation it self, and of the two to have less foundation in Scripture.

I cannot tell whether England will afford me a safe retreat when I have done my business on this side the Globe. Your clergy seem possess'd with such a Zeal for the Lords [*sic*] House that I fear a poor Layman who happens to differ from them will hardly find quarter ; but 'tis possible their nails may be pared before I shall think of returning and then you may expect to see

Your most affectionate.

Copy of Letter from E[dward]  
H[arrison] to Mr. Jno. Bedwell.

FORT ST. GEORGE,  
9th Feb'y, 1714/15.

S'r,

I expected by this year's Shipping you would at least have acknowledg'd the receipt of my Letter by the Dartmouth and the Respond[entia] bond that accompan'd it for 500 Pagodas remitted you on account Mr. Joseph Collet, for want of which advice I am at a great loss.

I now send you by the said Mr. Collet's order a small Bulse q't one Single Diamond as per Inclos'd Invoice and bill of Lading, which the Captain will deliver you privately upon Payment of the usual freight of 2 per Cent upon the Value there and you must take care not to let it be known to any Person that may inform the Court of Directors.<sup>1</sup>

Give me leave to caution you how you dispose of this stone. Be sure to take Good advice and not be too hasty in the matter for I know it to be very Perfect on all Points and tho' dear bought here, which could not be avoided I am sure it will render good Proffit if you can get any trusty

<sup>1</sup> After some unsuccessful experiments the Company had abandoned the diamond trade ; but required that all stones imported should be deposited with it and sold by auction at its sales (Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, ii, 232). Hence the injunction to secrecy. Qt, i.e. content.

Friend to assist you in the Saleing it. I beg you not let any Person know it comes from me.

The accompanying Letter will direct you how to employ the Produce ; if Goods had been cheaper I would have remitted you more mony and if you should be under any streights for account of Mr. Collet's Children under your care, please to apply your Self to Messrs. Roger Braddyll and Alvaro Da Fonseca, Merchants in London, and upon shewing this paragraph of my Letter they will take your Bills upon me or my assigns for 500*l* at the usual Exchange which shall be punctually paid. But pray let it be mention'd for acc't of your Brother Collet.

Y'r Very Humble Serv't,  
E. HARRISON.

MARLBOROUGH FORT,  
*April 1st, 1715.*

[TO LADY WILLS.]

MADAM,

The int'rests of Parents and Children are so closely united that a favour conferr'd on the latter lays a real Obligation on the former ; and distance of time or place ought to be no Obstruction to the Acknowledgments of a Grateful Mind. I find my Self under this tye to your Ladyship's Goodness in shewing countenance to and cherishing my Daughters at a time when their Father's fortunes seem'd hopeless and even his Reputation, the last defence, was attack'd. My Eldest Daughter writes me that the greatest Comforts she met with in these circumstances flow'd from your Friendship, and my Son adds that you have kindly interpos'd in the Vindication of my integrity. By how much the more difficult it was for me to defend my Self when half a World separated me from my Accusers, by so much the more generous was any interposition on my behalf, till Time the revealer of Secrets should justify or condemn me.

Your Ladyship has the satisfaction to find those who were too forward in their censure now come over to your Opinion.

So great Obligations layd on me and mine will excuse the Liberty of this address ; to be insensible of them would be unpardonable, and to be silent under them is impossible to a gratefull mind. Accept therefore, Madam, these my Sincere Acknowledgments, together with my fervent Wishes for your health and prosperity.

I am Your Ladyship's most  
Obed't Humble Serv't,  
J. C.

Copy of a Letter from E[dward]  
H[arrison] Esq., to J[oseph]  
C[ollet] received by the *Rochester*  
June 28th, 1715.<sup>1</sup>

WORSHPF'LL S'R,

I am not able to recollect exactly what I wrote you in my private Letter by the Frances but I think the substance of it was That it would undoubtedly be your advantage to come to your Station here as soon as your time is expir'd ; that the sooner you sent your Son the better, and that it would be more your Int'rest and altogether as acceptable to your friends in England to Let them draw bills upon you for what you are to pay them and in the mean time your mony may be of signal service to you here.

The case is now alter'd in your favour here. Mr. Benyon died in Feb'y last the 4th, and Mr. Warre the 6th inst., so that your Standing is at present third at this board and Warehousekeeper.

The Kent was sent out so early by interest of my friends to approve our conduct in the affair of Fort St. David,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Rochester* sailed from Madras on May 18 with letters dated May 14-16, which must be the approximate date of the following.

<sup>2</sup> Raworth's rebellion. See p. 82 *supra*.

and with a very kind handsom Letter from the Court of Directors I have receiv'd a fine gold sword set with emralls that cost them £200 and a Compliment in answer to my request for leave to retire. They tell me they shall be very glad if I will continue, but if my health will not permit I am at liberty to return. The Succession was left undetermin'd to the dispatch of the Ships in Jan'y, but this much I can assure you that you are under nomination ; and tho' Mr. Page is voluntarily out of the Court I think his Int'rest sufficient to carry it if he espouses it heartily. He is in a very dangerous state of health but goes abroad and is as busy as ever. If this should be brought about as I really believe it will next year, if not this, I hope in God they will make good provision for your place for there is not a soul on this side fit to send. If we have any news that is worth while I'll send you notice some how or other unless I find by my advices that they have done it directly from home. My resolutions are to be gone in Jan'y if I can get in my mony and lay it out. But Diamonds are not now to be had and the few that are procurable most excessive dear.<sup>1</sup> If I see you are the person, it may tempt me to stay and settle you in this noble employ to both our satisfactions.

Of other business I have wrote you a part, and as to publick news the Letters from Europe that accompany this will give you a full account no doubt. King George has routed all the Tories, and the Whigs say all is wondrous safe and well. Pray God it may be, but I cannot endure to see any one party have it all to themselves.

You will wonder to see Sir Charles Peers in the Chair for the year. Nat Gould and Rob. Nightingale stood with the bank Int'rest, but G. Pa[ge] set up this Gentleman in opposition and carried it by the addition of Sir Robert Child's Int'rest.

I send you a packet of news papers to divert you and wishing you perfect health and success both in

<sup>1</sup> Diamonds constituted an important form of remittance to England at this period, the demand for bills of exchange homewards rendering the rates unfavourable.

publick and private affairs, remain with unfeign'd truth  
and sincerity,

Worshipf'll,

Y'r very reall friend

and Humble Servant,

E. HARRISON.

[Letters omitted to Rev. Adam Holden and Mr. Joseph  
Harding.]

MARLBOROUGH FORT,

*Oct. 10th, 1715.*

TO MR. JAMES HARDING.

DEAR BROTHER,

I have received yours dated 2nd Feby. last by my  
Brother Ross and return you many thanks for the particular  
relation you give me of sev'rall events both publick and private.

I am glad to hear you go on so comfortably and hope God  
will enable you to provide for that numerous family where-  
with he has blessed you. . . .

York Fort which was appointed the seat of my Govern-  
ment now lyes in ruins. Marlborough Fort has sprung from  
those ruins at near two miles distance where I have layd the  
foundation of the strongest Fortification in India and have  
rais'd a populous town adjoyning call'd by the same name.  
We encrease dayly in People, Trade, and Wealth, both on  
the Company's account and our own . . . and yet I am  
going to leave THIS PLACE. I have determin'd to proceed  
to Fort St. George next July and after 4 years' Stay there  
hope to think of London.

My Brother Ross is well. My Son has been at Batavia  
and by a violent cold had almost lost the use of his feet  
which he has not yet perfectly recover'd. . . .

I am, with all sincerity,

Your Affec'te Bro' and

real Friend,

J. C.

## MARLBOROUGH FORT,

*Oct. 10th, 1715.*

TO DANIEL DOLINS, ESQ.

S'R,

. . . Our removal of the head Settlement to the place I date from has made a very great alteration with respect to health. So that from being the most Sickly Settlement in India I really think it is become the most healthy.

. . . I am sorry to read that Divisions prevail among a party too weak, tho' united, for the common Enemy. Forgive me that I use so harsh a word, but some Laws lately made by that int'rest will justify the truth, if not the decency of the expression. To take away the naturall right of Parents to educate their Children and to deprive fellow Subjects of their civill rights for matters purely religious are works of the Devill.

Mr Newcome is ordered hither youngest of councill and has taken his Place accordingly. In his passage he has marri'd a Wife, a Planter's Daughter of St. Hellena. I know not what fortune he has with her but believe it small ; she seems to have about half the education of an English dairy maid—but I must tread gently in the Ladys' Quarters. Mr. Newcome gives this reason for marrying that he enjoys his health better in India than in England, and has no design to return. I have made him Warehousekeeper which is a genteel and easy employment. . . . I shall take what care I can of him and when I go recommend him to my successor. His Allowance here will afford him a comfortable maintenance.

I frequently regret the pleasant hours I have enj'y'd in the Society you mention. I am griev'd for the loss of our friend Mr. Dent, as well as for some circumstances attending it, but have strong hopes one day to enjoy the benefit of



your conversation with the rest of those remaining . . .  
being with the utmost Sincerity and Respect,

S'r,

Your real Friend,

and humble Serv't,

J. C.

MARLBOROUGH FORT,

*Oct. 10th, 1715.*

TO MRS. ANN BEDWELL.

MY DEAR SISTER,

Tis with a great deal of pleasure I read yours of the 8th Jany. last. Writing betwixt Friends without disguise, is talking at a distance ; and our distance is so great that it is a long time before One can receive an Answer which interrupts the pleasure of a continued conversation, but has this advantage that it renders it the more poignant and gratefull.

I am pleas'd with the account you give of my Daughters and must again conjure you to take care of their education. I am now, thanks be to God, above the necessity of limiting their expenses and shall direct my Brother Bedwell to allow them £200 a year and if you should think it necessary I won't stand out for an 100 more, but I suppose the first may be sufficient and however I leave it to your Judgment.

You are like to be deceived in your Expectation of saluting an Indian Princess by the title of Sister. Here are females 'tis true but destitute of all those Charms which attract the eye or engage the mind, their complexions betwixt copper and black, their features strong and masculine. Their ideas and consequently their conversation is but one degree remov'd from their four legg'd Sisters amongst whom you would rank them if it were not for some articulate sounds of which they are sufficiently liberall, as I once found by experience when two Kings and a considerable number of Nobility of both sexes had a tryall before me. The Ladies

of the British fishery could not have exerted themselves with more vehemence than a Sultanness and certain Peeresses did in that Occasion. 'Tis said they are very•amorous in private and will sometimes trespass, tho' adultery is punish'd with death, of which I have seen some instances in this place. But we have now some white Women of the lower rank. A new Councillor has brought a Wife from St. Hellena, a Lady of the first rank there, whose education comes about  $\frac{1}{2}$  way up to your Woodmen's daughters in Oxfordshire. The best we have are two or three Soldiers' Wives that follow the camp ; they came out from England.

I am now to tell you that I am taking another ramble ; in July next I design for Fort St. George where my present Station is good, tho' I hope for a better. I shall expect to hear from you by every Shipping and you may depend on constant returns from,

Dear Sister,

Your most Affec'te

Brother and Humble Serv't,

J. C.

MARLBOROUGH FORT,

*Oct. 10th, 1715.*

TO MRS. ELIZABETH COLLET.

MY DEAR GIRL,

I have receiv'd one Letter from you dated the 21st October. I suppose last year, but for anything in your Letter it might have been a Century ago. I have receiv'd another by your Unkle Ross without month or year which may do well enough with billets doux but not so well for Letters of Business.

Your Sister Nanny has got a fortune from India also tho' not so large as your Sister Herry's, but it will amount to £250. In the mean time I am getting something for you all and now give Orders to spare no expense in your Education. It is said your Sex need not be taught pride, but I

would have you value your Self as the daughter of an Indian Governour and act becoming the character of my daughters.

You promise me a present of your own Work which will be acceptable. . . .

Your truly Affec'te Father,  
J. C.

MARLBOROUGH FORT,  
*October 10th, 1715.*

TO MRS. ELIZABETH ROSS.

MY DEAR NIECE,

I recd. yours of the 24th Jany. by your Father which I now answer by the first opportunity so that you now see the reason of my not writing to you before. I had not forgot you but I expected to hear from you.

I am glad you did not take the ramble to Portugal you mention. I know the Portuguese so well that of all people in the World I desire to have least to do with them and I must tell you one of your Sex would be expos'd to the greatest injury's amongst them.

Your Father is safely arriv'd and enjoys his health, and is in a Station to live comfortably. . . . I have a fair prospect of returning to England in a few years, in circumstances that will enable me to take care of you and then you may depend on my Assistance.

I am your affec'te Unkle,  
J. C.

MARLBOROUGH FORT,  
*October 10th, 1715.*

TO MRS. MARY COLLET.

HON'D MOTHER,

I have received yours of the 21st Oct., 1st and 3rd of Jan'y Last and with a great deal of pleasure observe that your Self and mine with you enjoy perfect health and are

in more easy circumstances than for some time past. Distance of place cannot lessen in me the affections of a child of a Parent.

I now write to my Brother Bedwell who is a true Friend to me and mine to make the Allowances following—£50 a year to your Self which addition to your own Estate will I hope afford you a comfortable maintenance ; £50 a year to my Daughter Betty which will enable her to live handsom'ly and £40 a year each to my 3 younger daughters which will be sufficient for them at present. When there is Occasion for more I hope I shall be able to allow it, tho' you are not to believe all that is said of my growing rich apace. Fame generally doubles the truth ; on the other hand I am so far from having reason to complain, that I ought to be continually thankfull to our good God who has blessed me in temporalls much beyond my expectation.

. . . My Brother Ross is with me, enjoys his health and lives at ease. I have writ to my cousin Betty under your cover and desire you to give it her.

I Pray God to bless you and yours and mine with you both in Soul and body and am

Dear Mother,

Your Dutifull Son,

J. C.

MARLBOROUGH FORT,

*Oct. 10th, 1715.*

TO MESSRS. SAMUEL MORLAND, SAMUEL COWLES,  
NATHLL. HODGES, GEO. RICHARDSON.

S'RS,

I receiv'd a Letter from you by the Cardonnell without any date wherein you tell me it is reported that the Company have determin'd to remove me from this place and in such case you request of me to take Mr. Wm. Green with me.

I know not whether what you Suggest as to the cause of

my removall to be true or not, but I have determin'd to leave this place. . . .

As to your Request tho' I should be sure of the Govern-ment it is not in my power to grant it without an express order from England. A covenanted Servant for one part of India has not a right by vertue of that Covenant to take place as such in any other part, nor can one resign his post before the expiration of the term agreed for without forfeiture of the Bonds. I know of no exception to this generall rule but in the case of my Self and Son who are expressly Ordered by the Company to be esteem'd covenanted Serv'ts both here and at Fort St. George and to rise in standing there during the time of our Stay here.

But tho' it is not in my power to perform what you request I will do all that I can for Mr. Green's advantage and that for his own sake. . . . He behaves himself well and improves in business and when I leave this place I shall engage my Successor to show him all favour.

I am with real Respect,

Gentlemen,

Your humble Serv't,

J. C.

MARLBOROUGH FORT,

*Oct. 10th, 1715.*

TO MR. SAMUEL MORLAND.

SIR,

. . . I return you thanks for the favor done me in making an apology to the Royal Society on my behalf. The employments of a Governour and a Merchant require so much of my time that I can find no leisure for the Study of naturall philosophy and consequently am like to prove a very useless member of that Hon'ble Body. But since I cannot talk like a philosopher I will act like a Governour and send by the Commander of the Ship Rochester, Capt. Wm. Brown, a Malay lance, sword and creese, with a target cover'd with the Skin of a Tyger's head. I have had a

successfull Warr in the northern part of my Government and some of these are part of the trophies. I have consign'd them to your Self and desire you to place them in the repository of the Royal Society if you think them worth place there.

I am, with real Respect,

S'r,

Your very humble Serv't,

J. C.

TO MR. GEORGE RICHARDSON.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

. . . I hold my purpose of going to Fort St. George July next and am determin'd by the first Shipping after my arrivall there to write to your Self and my Old Creditors to give you and them Liberty to draw on me the full remainder of my Debts not made good by the Statute. I assure you the pleasure of seeing my Self able to discharge my Duty in this case gives me a greater Satisfaction of mind than the possession of any degree of Wealth beyond it can do.

. . . Your very acceptable Letter of the 21st Jan'y Last brought to my mind the agreeable hours we have enjoy'd together. I esteem Religion to be the perfection of human nature and religious conversation the noblest entertainment of a reasonable mind. . . .

I am, S'r, your truly Affec'te Friend

and humble Serv't,

J. C.

MARLBOROUGH FORT,

*Oct. 10, 1715.*

TO MR. SAML. COLLET.

DEAR BROTHER,

. . . I have receiv'd since, yours of the 17th Jan'y last by Mr. Busfield and of the 20th by my Brother Ross. I

observe what you write concerning I. B. He told you true ; it was a wrong step and will prove chargeable to me more than you imagine, but it can't be helped.

I am pleas'd to find so happy a turn in your publick Affairs. I hope you will have a parliament to repeal that cursed bill against Schism which alone is sufficient to render any Church antichristian and consequently not fit to be communicated with in any degree. God grant that Liberty of conscience may one day be set upon a true foot, that is that all Men may worship the Supream being in such a manner as themselves believe will be most Acceptable to him.

I am Sorry for the misfortunes of so many of our friends. Mr. W. writes me that he has a prospect of surmounting the difficultys he has for some time labour'd under but I confess I can scarce read and less understand what he writes. I desire you to tell me if you can why N. H. has not wrote me any answer to severall I have sent to him and which I know he has receiv'd.

I hold my purpose of leaving this place July next proceeding to Fort St. George where I shall expect to hear from you constantly. My present Station at Fort St. George will put me into a condition of returning home in a few years with a moderate fortune. If any better be appointed me you will know it first and in such case especially I desire a particular Account of your affairs.

I sent a Gold Lace by the Abingdon for my Sister Collet. You do not mention whether any such came to hand tho' my sister Quincy writes me that she receiv'd one by the same conveyance. °

I pray God to bless you and yours continually. I am

Your most Affec'te Brother

and real friend,

J. C.

MARLBOROUGH FORT,

Nov. 25<sup>th</sup>, 1715.

TO MR. SAML. COLLET.

MY FRIEND,

I send you with this the Copy of an Heretical Manuscript which came to my hands some months ago.<sup>1</sup> It is plain the author design'd it for the Press and if it has been Printed I doubt not some good hand has wrote an answer which I should be glad to see. If you meet with it in print and any good answer to it I desire you to send me both to Fort St. George whither I shall go in July next with our Governour. I am

Your old Friend.

At this point Collet's surviving letters from Sumatra come to a close. Others were written to his mother and other persons, relating (we may guess with his accustomed suppression of personal feeling) the successive deaths which must have made him less reluctant to quit the virulent Sumatran coast, and to exchange his work for a wider sphere of action which would leave but small time for reflection. In the course of nine months after he sent home his 'heretical manuscript' there died his son, White, and Lloyd, the only persons to whom he was really attached on the West Coast. These manifest warnings must have proved to him how unstable was the personal foundation of that edifice of good government he had sought to erect, and disposed him the more to accept the offer of the East India Company to appoint him governor and president of Fort St. George—the most considerable post at that time in the Company's service.

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be a revision and expansion of the paper, extracts from which are printed, p. 110, *supra*.



## LETTERS : MADRAS

[FORT ST. GEORGE],  
*Sept. 8th, 1716.*

TO MRS. MARY COLLET, SENR.

HON'D MOTHER,

I wrote you last from the West Coast by the Borneo. I arriv'd here the 26th of the last month, since which I have receiv'd your very tender Letters of the 1st Dec'r and 7th Febr'y last.

After having escap'd the dangers of the West Coast for 4 years and finding myself in perfect health here I have no reason to doubt the continuance of it for the time I propose to stay. Govr. Harrison goes from hence in Jan'ry next, when I shall enter on the Government, which will keep me in duty and gratitude to my hon'ble Masters longer in India than I should otherwise have stay'd, having propos'd to myself a moderate Fortune and retired life for the remainder of my days. But the Providence of God has without my own interposition call'd me to a Station of Eminence and power, in which I am oblig'd to exert myself to the utmost. May God grant his Blessing on all my just designs both publick and private. The Desire of abundant Wealth was never strong in me and has been much abated by the Loss of my Son whom I should have been glad to have settled in a rank of Life answerable to what I have in view. But since it has pleas'd God to remove him, I shall endeavour to do the more publick Good according to my Circumstances. I think it convenient for my Daughters to assume a higher rank of Life than formerly and I write by this conveyance to my Brother Bedwell to allow them £400 per ann. for their Expense. I have also order'd him to pay yourself £100 per ann. which addition to your own income will enable you to live the more comfortably. And I would not have you endeavour to save anything out of it,

because in case of my Death I shall make an answerable provision for you. I have also order'd my Bro. Bedwell to pay to my Bro. Collet £100 p. ann. for the Education of his two eldest Sons whom I would have bred up as my Nephews and let their father leave the care of providing for them to me. By the next Ship when the Govr. comes home I shall make some remittances and shall then remember my Sister Quincy.

There is so much trouble in sending small presents from hence and in getting them on shore with you that I shall not attempt to send anything, but rather choose to supply mine in England with money to purchase what they want, which is always the easier and sometimes the cheaper way.

I must give you the satisfaction of knowing that this is a very healthfull place and that I shall come to the Government with the Generall Love and Esteem of the people. I will not doubt the continuance of your prayers for the Blessing of God upon me, as I shall never forget the Obligations of Duty and Gratitude which lie on me to you.

I am,

Hon'd Mother,

Your most Dutifull Son.

*Sept. 18, 1716.*

TO MRS. ELIZABETH COLLET.

MY DEAR GIRL,

I have receiv'd your very acceptable Letters dated the 1st Sept. 1715 and the 1st Feb. 1716 with yours and your Sisters' Pictures and a Cap of your own working which I value for that reason tho' the warmth of this Country will not admit wearing anything weightier than fine Linnen.

I left a long Letter for you with Mr. Shylling to be sent by the Borneo with an Account of the Death of Mr. White and your Brother, that the former had named you Executrix in his Will but left barely sufficient to pay his Debts, and that your Brother had left his personall Estate to your Self

and your Sister Anne joyntly. I deliver'd some things of value to Capt. Burgis Commr. of the Borneo consign'd to your Uncle Bedwell and have paid what cash I had into the Company here to be paid your Uncle Bedwell in London who will be accountable to your Self and Sister. I send with this an Account Current of your Brother's Estate, for in matters of this kind I must deal as punctually with you as with a Stranger. I also send you an Account Current of Mr. White's Effects that you may see there is nothing coming to you on that Account.

You are now to Esteem your Self in the quality of Daughter to a Governour of Fort St. George and I now give orders to maintain you accordingly, that is £400 a year for your Self and Sisters besides a £100 a year to your Grandmother. As to Marriage I shall lay you under no other obligation than to have the consent of Sir Gregory Page and your Uncle Bedwell and also of Govr. Harrison when he comes home, who engages in my Interest with the zeal of a sincere friend and to whom I would have you and all mine pay the utmost respect and Duty. He comes by the next ship which may probably arrive in England in a month or two after this.

The money I have remitted on account of your Brother's Estate which is to be divided between your Self and Sister Anne amounts to £321. 7. 4½. . . .

I am, Dear Daughter,  
Your affec'te Father.

*Sept. 18th, 1716.*

TO MRS. MARY COLLET, JUNR.

DEAR DAUGHTER,

I have receiv'd yours dated the 1st Dec'r and 6th Feb'y last and now according to my promise of writing to you as soon as I should receive a Letter from you, I send you this.

I am through God's Goodness in perfect health, and tho' tied down here for some years, yet I hope one day to see

you in England. Let it be your care to render that meeting comfortable by conducting your Life and manners so as that I may with joy call you my Daughter. Always obey the Commands of your Grandmother and observe the Directions of those friends to whose care I have committed you, and follow the Example of your Sister Betty, of whom I have receiv'd an advantageous Character. I pray God almighty to bless you and am,

D'r Daughter,  
Your Affect'te Father.

TO MRS. ANNE COLLET.

DEAR DAUGHTER,

Your first Essays of writings dated the 1st Dec'r and 2nd Febr'y last are come to my hands and according to my promise I now write to your Self particularly.

I have receiv'd your picture and hope in a few years to see the Original adorn'd with the reall Beautys of Virtue, Prudence and good humour. They give the intrinsick value to a woman tho' the advantages of Fortune help to set them in a brighter Light. As to the particulars of your Conduct I must refer you to the rules I have given your Sister Betty, and to her Example.

I am oblig'd to mention one thing of Business to you as you have a Legacy due to you from the Estate of Mr. Thomas Lloyd deceased and another from your Brother's Estate. Your share from Mr. Lloyd's estate amounts to £258. 6. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ , and your share in your Brother's Estate amounts to £160. 13. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ , besides your share in the severall things sent home from the West Coast by Mr. Burgess. I have remitted the above mentioned sums to your Uncle Bedwell by this Conveyance. I pray God to bless you and am,

Dear Daughter,  
Your Affec'te Father.

TO MRS. HENRIETTA COLLET.

DEAR DAUGHTER,

I am very well pleas'd with the receipt of your first two Letters which are come to hand and of your picture by the same conveyance. . . .

Tho' I am oblig'd to stay here some years, yet I hope to see you again in England that you may have the opportunity of reviving those Ideas of me which you say you have lost. In the mean time let it be your Care to furnish your Self with the Ornaments of Virtue, Prudence, and an obliging Temper which will render it a joyfull meeting on my part.

I pray God almighty to bless you and am,

Dear Daughter,

Your Affec'te Father.

*Sept. 18, 1716.*

TO MRS. ANNE BEDWELL.

DEAR SISTER,

. . . I find myself under the strongest obligations to you for your Care of my Daughters and particularly thank you for exceeding the allowance I had made for their Education. I now write to my Bro'r Bedwell to allow them £400 a year, but if you think it convenient he may add £100 a year more for a Coach tho' I have not said anything of it to themselves ; but I think it will be best to let them have one and as to the Expense, to tell you the truth I don't stand upon 3 or 400£ a year over or under, so that if you see any particular occasion to launch out beyond the Allowances I now make, I leave it to your discretion.

. . . The loss of my Son had abated that desire of wealth which you justly observe was never very strong. . . . I should have stayed very little longer in India had not my Masters by doing me so great honour bound me by the strongest ties of Duty and gratitude to do them all the Service in my power.

It is very easy to talk with contempt of wealth and grandeur while they are flowing in upon me; but you [who] have known my Sentiments when plung'd in the utmost Depths of Adversity will easily believe me now when I profess that the only Charm I see in my present Circumstances is the power of doing good and the hopes of a future reward. And yet I act to open view as if the Desire of getting abundance was my strongest passion for I engage in trade with the utmost Vigour, to which I am induced much more as it is becoming my Character and of publick benefit.

Governour Harrison has promised me to joyn with my Bro'r Bedwell in the Direction of my Affairs and also if my Brother pleases, in the management of his Fortune ; I mean whatever part of it he shall think fit to employ this way. . . .

I am, dear Sister,

Your most affectionate Brother and humble Serv't,

J. C.

*Sept. 18th, 1716.*

TO MR. JOHN QUINCY.

DEAR BROTHER,

. . . I am sorry to find your circumstances so much streighten'd. I am pleas'd that my Brother Bedwell has done something on my account towards your relief. I now order him to make up what he may have already advanc'd you to £200 which I hope will make you easy. However I desire you to give me a full account of your Circumstances and I shall be as ready to assist you, as I have been to receive Assistance when I needed it. Let me also know how many Children my Sister has and their names, for at present I am a perfect Stranger to almost all the affairs of my relations.

Do not forget to send me every year some bitter drops and some Cordials, particularly some Mint Water and plague water. I would have them all in flint bottles with ground Stoppers and handsome cases. Send also a few chymicall

things, in all to the value of about £20 yearly and desire my Brother Bedwell to pay you.

. . . I hope by the next Conveyance to get time to write with the freedom we used to talk but at present I have only time to write of Business and to assure you that I am,

Dear Brother,

Your Affec'te Brother and humble Serv't,

J. C.

P.S. I send enclos'd a List of such things, as I would have sent me, with such additions as you think necessary. I send also a Letter from my Doctor here who desires to be supplied by you yearly to the value of £20 or £30 according to the List he sends you. I have order'd my Bro'r Bedwell to pay you for both and I will account with my Doctor here who being a Frenchman you'll find writes wretched English. Take care that everything be the best of the kind both for him and me, whatever the difference of price may be.

Sept. 18, 1716.

TO MR. SAMUEL COLLET.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I have receiv'd yours of the 2nd Nov. and 20th Jan'y last and one without a date by Mr. Sanderson. I have not time to reply to you at large tho' I have a great mind to have some hours chat with you on a particular Subject. I should be glad to see *Christianity vindicated from the charge of Polytheism*<sup>1</sup>; if there be any such piece printed I desire you to send it me.

I have ordered my Brother Bedwell to pay you £200 with which I present you, and also £100 per ann. for the Education of your 2 Eldest Sons, whom I would have bred up as my Nephews if you are willing to be eas'd of the care of providing for them. Let them have an Education to qualifie

<sup>1</sup> His own manuscript.

them for Merchants with the addition of the Gentile Exercises. Fair writing and clear Accourts are usefull in all ranks of Life. Tho' I design to take care of both, yet if I succeed according to my present views I purpose to do more largely for the Eldest if he will perform his part to deserve it. Let me know how many Children you have and their Names, and as often as you have an increase inform me of it. I know no advantage my present circumstances give me but that of doing good. . . .

. . . I must not forget to tell you that there is an Establish'd Friendship in the strictest sense between Govr. Harrison and myself. He goes from hence next January when I shall enter on the Government. I shall recommend you to him and doubt not he will be ready to do you service ; by him I will endeavour to write more at large. . . .

I am,

Dear Brother,

Your most affect'te Brother

and Assured Friend,

J. C.

*Sept. 19th, 1716.*

TO MR. ADAM HOLDEN.<sup>1</sup>

SIR,

. . . I observe that I have some Enemies as well as friends with you, which every man in post must expect. He that attempts to go thro' the Exercise of power and administration of government so as to please all Men, will very probably please none ; my rule is so to act as that in the first place may approve Myself to my own Conscience, and next to those by whom I am entrusted, and in the last place to wise and impartiall Men, nor have I any Solitude beyond this. As to the Gentleman you mention, I could expose the ground of his resentment ; but I am as much above that

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Holden had apparently given up his ministry in consequence of the Schism Act.



in my Temper, as I am above any occasion to solicit his favour in my Fortunes.

You find yourself mistaken in Your Opinion of the Company's Intentions with respect to the Government of this place. You know it is very common in Military Actions to make a false Attack in order to conceal a true one. . . .

I wish you all success in the new way of Life you are engag'd in. I have a melancholy view of the State of Religion in England and that with respect to all the severall parties. If I am not mistaken the Church has put herself in danger by those very means design'd or at least pretended for her Security. I mean in particular the Schism Act and all others of that kind. I can never believe that any Church establish'd on principles of persecution can be truly safe. I am sure so far as it is put in practice that Church whatever it be is so far Anti christian. The very Characteristick our Blessed Saviour gives his Disciples is "By this shall all men know ye are my Disciples if ye love one another." As for the Dissenters there is too much Enthusiasm and Bigotry amongst them, and implicit Faith enuff on both sides. Witness their Zeal for the Athanasian Creed, which I will not compare to anything else because I have not yet met with anything in the world so absurd.

As to your State Affairs I congratulate you on the happy success of King George's Forces against the Pretender. The young Gentleman seems to have much about the same Stock of Courage with his pretended Father; may his designs on the Crown of Gt. Britain be always frustrated and may it long flourish on the head of King George and his Posterity.

. . . I sincerely wish you health and prosperity and am,  
Sir,

Your reall Friend and humble Serv't,

J. C.

FORT ST. GEORGE,

3 Dec'r 13<sup>th</sup>, 1716.

TO MRS. MARY COLLET.

HON'D MOTHER,

. . . I am now come from a place esteem'd the most unhealthy in India to one of the contrary character. . . . The Change in my Fortunes has been both great and sudden. I am now above the Necessity of Solicitous Cares to provide a Subsistence for my family or to place them in the rank of Life in which they were born. My Character and the Fortunes they are likely to enjoy will render them more conspicuous ; I am now Solicitous for their Conduct only that they may adorn whatever rank of Life they may be placed in by the constant exercise of Piety, Virtue and prudence.

It may be some Entertainment to give you a brief Sketch of this place and the manner of a Governor's Life here. The City of Madras is about two miles in length and contains near 100,000 Inhabitants. It is divided into the White Town and Black Town both which are fortified ; in the middle of the White Town stands Fort St. George, the Governor's usuall place of residence and near a mile distant up the River stands the Company's Garden house, a pleasant Seat for this country, to which he may retreat during the Intervals of Business. But I assure you the Life of a Governour here is far from Being an Idle one, if he will discharge the Duty of his Station and manage his private Affairs to the best advantage. •The Company keep a handsome Table and for my own part I keep a very good concert of Musick and purpose now and then to treat the Ladys with a Ball and sometimes bear a part with them. The Governour is always attended with a Guard, but appears with the greatest pomp when he goes to Church. The whole Garrison is drawn out and line both sides the way through which he passes, the Colours flying and Drums beating.

I desire you to wait on Govr. Harrison at his Arrivall.

I have made him my Attorney joyntly with my Bro'r Bedwell and given him an Account not only of my own Affairs but also of my Family's and am confident you will find him ready to assist them as occasion shall require. I would have my Daughters respect him as a Father and follow his Directions in all Matters of Importance. He proposes to keep one or other of them constantly in his own family and I have given him full power with my Brother Bedwell to dispose of any of them in Marriage and shall give the same fortune to any of them so Marrying as if I were present to give my own Consent.

I pray God to bless you and yours continually and am,  
 Hon'd Mother,  
 Your Most Dutifull Son,  
 J. C.

FORT ST. GEORGE,

*Dec. 14th, 1716.*

TO MRS. ELISABETH COLLET.

MY DEAR DAUGHTER,

. . . As soon as you receive this I would have your Self and Sisters wait on Govr. Harrison, whom I have joynd with your Uncle Bedwell in authority over and care of you. He will prove a very powerfull friend and patron, and as such you ought to respect him. I send by him four Diamond Rings one for your self and each of your Sisters. I could not procure them of equall value, and therefore you must choose according to seniority. One of them has been worn some years by my self and must be new Set. That you may have some guess at the value, that ring cost me thirty pound. I also send by the Governour in requitall for your Pictures a sort of Picture or Image of my Self. The lineaments and the Features are Esteem'd very just but the complexion is not quite so well hit ; the proportion of my body and my habit is very exact. I commit it to your Custody till you see the originall.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The effigy has passed into the possession of Mr. Harold Collet. It

With the Governour comes a Widow Gentlewoman of this place M'st. Benyon by whom I have sent a pocket essence bottle trim'd with gold, four pieces, of the finest muslin, twelve Fans, a wrought silk morning Gown, a wrought muslin Neckcloth and apron which she will deliver to you. Deliver the Essence bottle to your Grandmother and present one piece of the muslin to your Aunt Bedwell ; one other piece divide between your Aunt Quincy and Aunt Collet, the other two pieces divide between your Self and Sisters equally, and eight of the Fans ; the other four you may give away as you think fit. The Gown, Neckcloth, and Apron are for your Self. I would have you and your Sisters not only wait on M'st. Benyon at her arrivall, but also keep up an Intimate acquaintance with her which you will find very agreeable.

I have told the Governour my sentiments very freely with respect to the marriage of your Self and sisters. I neither expect nor desire you should live single till my return, and it is too far to write hither for my consent. I have therefore Transfer'd my authority to Sir Gregory Page, Governour Harrison and your Uncle Bedwell and if any of you marry with their consent I will give you fortunes in proportion to my Estate which they will be able to guess at.

. . . You have had a rough introduction into the World ; a Gay Scene is now opening. It is your part to give a lustre to your rising fortunes by the practice of a sincere Piety towards God, and a steady, prudent conduct in a corrupt and censorious World. So shall you be lov'd by God and man, and rejoyce the Heart of

Dear Daughter,

Your Affec'te Father,

J. C.

is about thirty inches high, made of plaster strengthened with a wooden core, and painted. On the base is a gilt inscription, "Amoy Chinqua fecit." It was evidently made by a Chinese artisan at Madras. The base on which the figure stands, and the glass-fronted case enclosing it, are of rosewood. A photograph of it forms the frontispiece of the present volume.

FORT ST. GEORGE,

*Dec. 14th, 1716.*

TO MR. JOHN BEDWELL.

DEAR BROTHER,

. . . I shall take this, the only Intervall of business that I have yet had or am likely to have during my stay in India, to talk to you with the freedom of our ancient friendship ; and I shall take a greater liberty than is usually fit to be committed to the charge of a Letter at this distance on account of the surety of conveyance.

. . . You will easily believe the loss of an only son just ent'ring into the World with personall merit and great advantages must affect me deeply. I have avoided as much as possible touching on the subject even where it might have been expected I should have treated it at large. His death destroy'd the little ambition I had of raising a Family. . . . In this circumstance I am perfectly mortify'd to the desires both of ambition and avarice, and therefore can and do apply my mind to study how I may improve to the best advantage those talents to the glory of the Supream Disposer. The sudden change of my circumstances from the lowest depth of adversity to such an eminent Height of prosperity has made no change in my sentiments concerning the value of this world or of that which is to come. The same principles which supported my mind whilst myself and Family were fed by your Charitable hand, the same principles I say give the Poignancy and relish to my present Enjoyments. A full resignation to the will of God and resolution to perform the Dutys of whatever Station or circumstance of life his providence shall place me in, was then and is now the temper and bent of my mind. 'Tis indeed more blessed to give than to receive, and therefore the more eligible lot tho' not in our power. When I receiv'd I bless'd God and the giver ; when I give I bless God for the power of doing good and I know both will be rewarded.

. . . I shall on my return be willing to serve my Country.

The next year, I design to make you some remittances but the year following I purpose to begin to remitt largely and perhaps shall order the purchase of a qualifying Estate. Thus far I have gone in my thoughts of Contingences with a probable view ; but must conclude with this sincere act of resignation ; God's will be done ! I have learnt to know how to want and how to abound and in both Conditions to be content.

. . . Governour Harrison's friendship is a very great advantage to me ; he is a man of the most solid Judgment, polish'd by the brightest conversation, and thereby qualify'd equally for the busy and the Gay scenes of life ; he is a man of strict Honour and justice and firm resolution. We communicate without reserve in our private conversation, and we have joyn'd together in publick in the most solemn positive Institution of Christianity.

Soon after my arrivall here, one of our Councillors had a son born for whom I was desir'd to stand Godfather. I publickly declar'd myself an anabaptist and thereby have avoided all future solicitations of that kind. And yet I pass for a very tolerable Churchman being more constant in my attendance than most of themselves, tho' I have ventur'd one bold step on another head. You must know I don't love to hear myself damn'd by the whole congregation as I must be whenever the Athanasian Creed is read. We have two Parsons here ; one believes as little of that Creed as myself and therefore never reads it. I requested the other to let me know before when it would be his turn to read it, and I would be absent. He very civilly promis'd me to omitt reading it entirely since it was offensive to me. So that you see I am head of the Church already.

. . . You can hardly believe it possible for a man to be so soon engaged so deep in Trade as I already am since my arrivall here in Shipping to almost all the parts of India ; and at home I have laid out twelve thousand pounds in a morning at an outcry. A man that did not know my real principles would conclude the desire of wealth to be the

main spring of my actions, and indeed I push in Trade as if I wanted or coveted a large Estate.

You will very much oblige me by communicating this to my Brother Collet and ent'ring into a confidence with him with relation to my affairs, in which you see his Family is likely to be Interested ; and I hereby empower you when you are in Cash for me to lend him five hundred pounds on his own bond if he desires it. It would be a jest to suffer him to be straitned at the same time I purpose to raise his Family.

By all this you will conclude I have no thoughts of marrying again. I am the less likely to do it because I never resolv'd against it. I believe my want of Inclination will be a sufficient barr. I had always an aversion to an old fellow's marrying a young Girl, as such a one deserves, so I think he ought to expect the Horns. Besides I should not care to beget Children at an age when I could not reasonably hope to see them educated and set out into the World ; so that if I should marry it would be some good old nurse, tho' I think I shall never be very fond of such a bedfellow but rather content myself with such an Housekeeper as might take care of me without scandall. The Ladys here had a character of me that I did not care for any conversation with the sex ; but they are now of another opinion. I have danc'd with them at a Ball and chatted at the Tea Table ; and to speak seriously the little Gayetys of my youth are of real importance to my Character now, by giving a turn to my Behaviour agreeable to my personal circumstances.

I have given Governour Harrison a Memorandum of Necessarys to be sent me yearly, because he is better acquainted with the Beau Monde and he knows what is fittest for this Climate. I send you a Copy that in case of his Indisposition or absence you may supply me. You will observe I am to allow the same proffit as silver makes ; that is until I have a sufficient stock at home, then I shall order those Investments to be made with my own money.

I am going shortly to Fort St. Davids which is about one

hundred miles off, in order to fortify the Town of Cuddalore and appoint new Buildings in the Fort etc. I purpose to travell overland and expect it will take up about a month's time.

The Eastern Nations worship the rising Sun ; but this has no ill effect here, because of the confidence between my Self and Predecessor to whom I communicate all that passes and he takes all occasions to advance my Int'rest and Reputation with the people, which he knows how to do consistently with the dignity of his own Character. His four months stay after my arrivall proves a very great advantage to me ; I now enter on the Government, Master of my business, knowing and being known to all the persons about me ; thus far at least they know that I will be obey'd in the just exercise of my Authority and that I am always ready to reward merit.

By this time I believe you will agree with me that I have talk'd enough of myself for all the time I have been or am to stay in India. I conclude this with my Hearty Prayers for your prosperity in Soul, Body and Estate. I am

Dear Brother,

Your most affectionate Brother  
and Humble Servant.

FORT ST. GEORGE,

*Dec'r 15th, 1716.*

TO MR. JOHN BEDWELL.

DEAR BROTHER,

This comes Chiefly to accompany the inclos'd papers among which you will find Capt. Lewis's Note for three Boddilo Handkerchers which I desire you to deliver to my Daughters Mary, Ann, and Henrietta ; I send one to my daughter Betty by Mrs. Benyon.

You will see in my Instructions to Govr. Harrison and your Self that I promise to give the same fortune to any of



my Daughters marrying with your consent as I will afterwards give to any of the rest. He knows my mind on that subject perfectly and thinks I should explain it a little more fully to you. My purpose is to give one half of my fortune with my Daughters at their Marriage at least till it shall amount to five thousand pounds each. When my fortune exceeds that proportion I shall not think it reasonable to proceed by this same rule; tho' if my Estate should be considerably larger I shall make an addition to that Sum. But I am determin'd to give as much with those you give in Marriage as with those I shall give my Sélf. Suppose for Instance you should in another year give two or three thousand pound down with one of my Daughters and that when I come home I should give five thousand or more with any of them, I would at the same time make up the fortune of her you had dispos'd of equall with the other, and you will see by my Will which I have sent with Govr. Harrison that in case of my death I have given them equall parts of my Estate excepting five hundred pound preference to the Eldest. I hope by this time twelve month to give orders for the payment of three thousand pound down with any one of them, and to send sufficient to answer it and in case of an offer for another shall be willing to pay Int'rest for the same sum till I have opportunity to remitt it. But I hope to remitt to you in my second year to the amount of ten thousand pound and I shall always give you so much light into my circumstances as that you may Judge what is proper to be done. Govr. Harrison will be able to guess very near at my Estate and he knows my purpose of giving freely to set my Children out well into the World. I am talking now upon the view before me on the supposition of life and success; in case of my death there is already a handsome competency for my family and that dayly increasing.

I give Govr. Harrison a private Character that in case he or you should have occasion to write anything that requires secrecy you may make use of it, as I also sometimes may have occasion to do. I should not have wrote with so much

freedom as above in plain English had not such a Conveyance offer'd.

I shall say nothing about your trading hither because the Govr. has undertaken to settle that with you. I design to trade pretty largely to England my Self, which will give you opportunity to stop money at any time my Daughters should want it.

One thing comes into my head concerning the marriage of my Daughters and that is with respect to religion. I hope they are no Bigots themselves, and I should be sorry to have them marry'd to Bigots of any persuasion. There are so many faults of all sides, a considerate man can hardly joyn fully with any ; the good of every side ought to be esteem'd and comply'd with, but superstition on one part, Enthusiasm on the other, and a mistaken Zeal on both parts prevails too much. My own principles are that Natural Religion is the foundation of reveal'd, and that all things necessary to be believ'd or practic'd are contain'd in the Holy Scriptures and that every man ought to judge for himself, and that all persecution is of the Devill. But to resume my Subject. It is most agreeable in marriage for husband and Wife to joyn in the same forms of Worship, and it would be no more objection to me to have a Daughter go to the Establish'd Church with her husband, tho' there are some things I do not approve, than it would be to have her go to any other publick assemblys amongst you, where there are other things perhaps of equall Importance which I no less dis-approve.

I am,

Dear Brother,

Your most affect'e Brother

and Humble Servant,

J. C.

P.S. In case of the death of any of the persons to whom I write under your Cover I desire you to open such Letters and not deliver them to their Successors unless you find it necessary on account of Property, most of them being only Letters of Friendship.

[FORT ST. GEORGE,]

*July 13th, 1717.*

TO THE REV'D MR. NATHLL. HODGES.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

By the Des Bouverie I receiv'd three severall Letters from you of very different dates. The Pleasure they gave me in reading was like that one should find in conversing with a friend rais'd from the Dead. My last Letter to you from the West Coast will inform you that from your long silence I apprehended your Friendship to be in a declining condition. You will easily conceive the Joy I feel at finding myself mistaken.

I observe your application of "*curæ leves loquentur ingentes stupent*" and it brings to my mind the Expression of the Prophet in the Lamentations "*Behold and see there is no Sorrow like unto my Sorrow.*" The heaviest part of what you complain of I share in equally with yourself; I mean the loss of a most valuable friend and of two very agreeable companions. As for the other part, I mean Business, it is light in Itself and ought to be esteem'd a trifle by you.

I am pleas'd to find that at this distance of our Bodies, our Souls should have found the way to unite in the same Sentiments on a Subject which most men are deterr'd from examining by the Bugbears that are set to Guard it; notwithstanding which it appears we have broke thro' the Bonds of Prejudice and the Force of our Education in our way to Truth. I congratulate you on our Conversion to Christianity which title hardly belongs to any one who asserts that there are more Necessarily Existent and Supream Beings than One. I shall not enlarge on the Subject. Sam will communicate something to you which I desire may be well examin'd.

I take notice of the persons you recommend to me and assure you that your recommendations have all the weight with me they ought to have; that is, they set the persons

in a clearer point of Light to my view and oblige me to observe their qualifications and Conduct the more carefully, but as to the actual distribution of favours you allow that Merit ought to be the Rule.

Pray ask Mr. Moreland whether the Royall Society have not excommunicated me for a useless Member as I am. I can only plead in excuse that I am Govr. of Madras and consequently my head can have no room for Philosophy. I wrote to him from the West Coast by the Borneo and hope to receive an answer from him by the next Shipping.

You may venture to write to me very freely *de quolibet* [tibi] provided you don't Subscribe your Name. I am not ashamed to profess my own Sentiments publickly and I have nobody to fear. Being myself head of the Church, Liberty of Conscience flourishes here in its true Latitude to a degree that I believe is not equall'd in any City in the world, and for the practice of Morall Virtues, my reall opinion is you'll find it hard to match us, especially in that grand Characteristick of Christians, an extensive Charity.

I hope to find time to chat more at large by the latter Shipping of this year. You have now a large proportion of my present time tho' I conclude abruptly with the assurance that I am

Dear Sir,

Your Most Sincerely Affec'te

friend and faithfull humble Serv't.

J. C.

P.S. My humble Service to Mrs. Hodges and if you please to the old Colonell.

P.S. *Aug. 8th.*

The Duke of Cambridge arriv'd here two days since and on her Mr. Bays who deliver'd me your recommendation of him to me. I have no reason to doubt the character given him and if he makes that good he may be assur'd of my favours.

[FORT ST. GEORGE.]

*July 13th, 1717.*

TO MR. JOHN TRAVERS.

DEAR SIR,

I am indebted to your favours of the 21st Sept. and 20th Jan'y, 1715,<sup>1</sup> both which tho' of so old a date are but lately come to my hands. It gave me some uneasiness that my Obligations to your Self and some other friends could not be sooner discharg'd and now that part is done, I assure you the Sense of the Obligations then receiv'd will always remain upon my mind. I thank you for the Generous proposall you make with Respect to my Children, tho' I am very well pleas'd that it was not complied with, because the consideration given was no more than reasonable for the hazard run, and it would have been laying me under new obligations when thro' God's goodness to me and mine I did not need it. As to Mr. Wilkinson's affair, he must be either really distracted or what is much worse a downright cheat.<sup>2</sup> I have wrote my Brother Bedwell very largely on that head and must refer you to him for the particulars.

I observe you kindly put me in mind of Agur's Prayer, which I very well remember ;<sup>3</sup> but you know that he that sets bounds to our habitations and disposes of all things according to his Sovereign pleasure determines our circumstances not as we would choose but according to his own Will. You have known me depress'd to the lowest depths of Adversity with an entire resignation of Mind to that hand which hath now rais'd me to an Eminent degree of power and Wealth. The surprising change has not dazzled me. I view them in the same lights and only esteem them as Instruments of doing good, for the use of which I must one

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, 1715-16.

<sup>2</sup> A letter to Richard Wilkinson, junior, of 1718 (not printed here) shows that claims which Collet regarded as unreasonable were withdrawn, and that the claimant suffered from a "discomposure of his mind."

<sup>3</sup> Prov. xxx, 8: "Give me neither poverty nor riches." I suspect the letter rebuked Collet for seeking unduly after wealth.

day render a Severe Account. I assure you my Future already exceeds my Desires and that I am now kept in India by the Conscience of Duty and Gratitude to my generous Masters more than by the Desire of heaping up unnecessary Wealth to myself. I congratulate you on your happy recess from the busy world. You have had a large Share of Action and if I could envy my friend, it would be on his agreeable retirement into a family I often wish my Neighbour, and hope within a few years to come within the reach of a visit.

Your recommendation of Mr. Pace did not arrive at Bencoolen till after my Departure from thence, so that it has not been in my power to do him any Service. The next time I write thither I will recommend him to the Deputy Governor ; on the character you give him I wish he were with me here.

My present Station must on Severall Accounts raise me many Enemies ; you will have an opportunity of hearing what reflections are made on me or my Conduct and I shall think myself very much oblig'd to you if you will with your wonted friendship and freedom, communicate your thoughts of me to myself. My sincere Desire is to express my Gratitude for the Divine Bounty towards me by performing all the Good which is put into my power to do. I conclude with my Prayers for your happiness here and hereafter and am.

Dear Sir,

Your Most Affec'te Friend

and Humble Serv't,

J. C.

*July 13th, 1717.*

TO MR. THOMAS WINDMILLS.

SIR,

. . . I have receiv'd the Watch my Brother bought of you for me which proves very good. I must desire you to send me three or four Spare Glasses having been oblig'd to

use one of those I receiv'd for my Silver watch which I bought of you about 15 years ago and is still a very good one.

You will have fresher news from Mr. Shylling than I can write you. I shall only say that he stands fully possess'd of my Friendship. I wish your Self and Family health and happiness and am,

Sir,  
Your Humble Serv't,  
J. C.

*July 13th, 1717.*

TO MR. SAMUEL COLLET.

DEAR BROTHER,

I have before me yours of the 4th March 1715 [-16], 13th Aprill, and 2nd Dec. 1716 and one by Mr. Norris without any date. The first contains a recommendation of Mr. George Lassell to my favour but he not arriving at the West Coast till after my Departure from thence it has not been in my power to do him any Service. Your next recommends a friend of Capt. Rogers whom you do not name, nor do I know who it is. . . . The third is a recommendation of Mr. Bellasis who is going free Merchant to Bengall. I have shown him what compliments I could here, but it must be his recommendations from England that must procure him any Employment there. We Madrassers are very cautious how we lay ourselves under any Obligations to the Gentlemen of Bengall.

The last mention'd Letter is concerning the Zendevestum and refers to another Letter which is not yet come to my hands. I shall make what inquiry I can concerning that Book and if I find it procurable shall not scruple any charge. . . . I am,

Dear Brother,  
Y'r Most Affec'te Brother and Humble Serv't,  
J. C.

P.S. Mr. Court has behav'd himself so well as purser

that I have also made him youngest super-cargo of the richest ship in my Service. I think his friends would do well to send him out 500 or 1000*l* next year.

P.S. *8th August.*

I have only time to acknowledge yours of the 18th and 28th Dec. last and to let you know that I have already given orders to search after the Persian Books you mention. The Author of the paper you mention will not consent to have it printed. He says he wrote you more fully on that Subject by the Borneo and is not unwilling that should be publish'd provided it be supervis'd and corrected by some good hand and there be no danger to the publisher, by which limitation I suspect it is some hereticall piece he has sent you.

*July 13, 1717.*

TO MRS. ELIZABETH COLLET.

DEAR DAUGHTER,

I wrote you at large by Gov. Harrison and have since receiv'd one from you by Mr. Norris as also from your Sister Ann and Sister Henrietta, but none from my Mother or my Daughter Mary. I observe you have wrote to me by the Hanover, but she has not touch'd here, so that those Letters cannot come to hand till the latter end of year. You tell me you have also wrote by Mr. Russon who comes on the Duke of Cambridge which is daily expected.

I have not time to write to your Sisters by this Conveyance; besides that there is something in your Sister Ann's Letter that I do not understand. When the Letters by the Hanover come to hand I expect to receive a Key to that Affair.

I am very well pleas'd with your being at my Bro'r



Bedwell's. . . . I am also well pleas'd with your Sister Mary's being with your Aunt Quincy. . . . I am,

Dear Daughter,

Your Affec'te Father,

J. C.

P.S. *August 8th.*

Since the above I have receiv'd 2 Letters from you to myself and one to your Brother ; and 2 from your Sister Mary to myself and 2 to her Brother.

Let all your Sisters know that if any of them marry without the consent of my Attorneys I will never give them any Fortune and they may depend on my keeping my resolution.

*July 13, 1717.*

TO MRS. ANN BEDWELL.

DEAR SISTER,

Your very acceptable Letter by Mr. Norris is come to hand in which you tell me you have wrote more at large by Mr. Russon. I return you my gratefull acknowledgments for your Care of my Daughters and particularly that you have taken the Eldest and youngest into your family. I am satisfied with my Daughter Mary's being with her Aunt Quincy. I believe Govr. Harrison will take the Other into his family and such a Disposition will be very much to my Content. The reputation of my Station exposes them to a great deal of Danger. I should be glad to hear the two Eldest were well married to your Content. But above all things let them avoid Quality, to which their growing Fortunes are likely enuff to expose them.

I left my Brother Ross at Bencoolen. After my departure he had a very severe fit of Sickness and is come hither for his health. He is pretty well recover'd since and I have

made him Super Cargo of one of my Ships bound to Bengall and Surat. . . . I am, with the utmost Sincerity,

Dear Sister,

Your Most Affec'te Broth'r  
and faithfùl humble Serv't,  
J. C.

P.S. *August 8th.*

Mr. Russon has deliver'd me your very acceptable Letter of the 8th Jan'y last, the very day I took possession of my new Government. I was well pleas'd before with the removall of my Daughters, but now I know the reason I am oblig'd to return you double thanks on that account. It is impossible for me to give particular Directions concerning them and I have therefore given them up entirely to be dispos'd of by my Attorneys who will always consult you concerning them.

*July 13th, 1717.*

TO DANIEL DOLINS, ESQ.

DEAR SIR,

. . . I am very sensible of the Expectations not only your Self but severall other Gentlemen of the Society for propagating the Gospell have from me of Assistance in that Affair. I assure you my heart is with you and could I effect anything considerable therein I should esteem it the brightest Page in my Life. Soon after my accession to this Government I went to Fort St. David on the Company's Affairs and was there met by Mr. Grundler, one of the Missionarys from Trinquibar. There we found a project of building a Charity School for the Instruction of the Natives both in Malabar and Portuguez in the principles of the Christian Religion. The Building is since compleated at my proper Expense and two Masters are settled in it. Mr. Grundler has lately made me a visit here and we form'd a project of erecting a Portuguez School in the White Town for the

instruction of the Slaves belonging to the English and a Malabar School in the black Town for the instruction of the Natives. This project has since been confirm'd in Councill and Trustees are appointed for the Management. To this I must add that our own free School is a Noble foundation ; there are between 30 to 40 Children of both Sexes already provided for, not only with all the Conveniencys of Life but also with an Education to fit them to provide for themselves hereafter. We are about building a handsome Colledge for their Entertainment ; we have a Sufficient Stock to go thro' that work and our constant income is more than sufficient to support our Expense, for I must tell you that Madrass is by much the most charitable place I ever came to.<sup>1</sup>

You desire to know my Sentiments of the Missionarys, of their procedure, and what hopes of Success. One of them you are acquainted with, whom I have not seen ; Mr. Grundler I have had some conversation with and I believe him to be a sincerely honest, pious and prudent Man. But I find him to be, as I have found all the German Divines, with whom I have convers'd are, perfect Systematicks. Their heads are fill'd with School Divinity and they cannot, they dare not search the Bible freely. I could not help making this reflection from looking over their Portuguez Catechism which is full of School terms and School Doctrines. To be plain the grand Obstacle to the propagation of Christianity is the Athanasian Doctrine. . . . Till Christians will content themselves with asserting that there is but one God, the Father, and one Mediator between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus, I doubt Christianity will make very little further progress in the world.

As to the Methods taken by the Missionarys you will have a large Account of them in a latin Treatise on that Subject very lately finish'd. You may depend on the truth of the Facts, and I shall add this remark, that I think they are fallen into not only the best but the only practicable method

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Penñy, *Church in Madras*, pp. 166 sqq.

of carrying on their Design. Children may be instructed in what you will and are very ready to learn words by rote, tho' they have no meaning, witness what ourselves have been taught in our Infancy. But to convince a person grown up to Understanding and possess'd with strong prejudices it is necessary that what you teach be plain and intelligible as well as that it be accompanied with Sufficient Evidence. From what I have said you will easily guess at the Apprehensions I have of the Success of this design as now managed. However, since I cannot reasonably hope to see it better manag'd at present, I will give all the Countenance and Assistance in my power for carrying on this good work as far as may be. I trust that in due time God will raise up proper Instruments for this work, Men that will teach plain Simple Christianity as it is laid down in the Gospell without the Incumbrance of Creeds and Articles of human invention, and if it be necessary that he will add the Evidence of Miracles to the purity of their Doctrine.

I congratulate you on the happy State of your Civil Affairs, that King George's Throne is establish'd. Under his Government may Liberty and Truth long flourish and may I have the Enjoyment of your Society under such an happy Administration. That the Blessing of God may attend you and yours continually is the constant wish of

Dear Sir,

Your Most Affec'te Friend

and Faithfull Humble Serv't.

*July 15, 1717.*

TO MR. JOHN TOMS.

SIR,

I have receiv'd yours of the 8th Jan'y last by your Son in whose behalf you desire my favour. I have already put him into a post which will maintain him. It is Gunner's Mate 45s. p. mensem Salary, but if you expect he should make any considerable advances in his fortune you must give

him tools to work with. If you send him out a little Stock I will improve it for him and not permit him to squander it away. In the mean time, if I find him capable of Business, Sober, and Diligent, I shall as opportunity offers do something further for him.<sup>1</sup> I recommend you and yours to the Divine protection and am,

Sir,

Your Humble Serv't,  
J. C.

July 17th, 1717.

TO DR. WOODWARD.

SIR,

. . . You desire a correspondence with me on the Subject of Naturall History, which I must frankly acknowledge I am incapable of Engaging in. I have formerly turn'd some thoughts that way and have still inclination enuff to pursue so agreeable a Study, but I assure you that a Govr. of Madrass, if he will perform the Duty of his Station and take due care of the Management of his own Affairs, cannot find leisure for such applications. However tho' I cannot myself answer your Expectation and desire, I shall put Mr. Stevenson<sup>1</sup> upon performing his part, and Mr. Pichier,<sup>2</sup> who is my Physician here, on sending you such collections as he is able to make. I heartily wish you success in the progress of your Enquiries into the Knowledge of Nature, which is not only gratefull to Men of Speculation but of reall use to Mankind in Generall.

I am, Sir,

Your Very Humble Serv't,  
J. C.

<sup>1</sup> Chaplain at Madras. See Penny, *Church in Madras*, pp. 668-70, which does not, however, mention the mental derangement which afflicted him. (See p. 196 *infra*.)

<sup>2</sup> Had served as surgeon on the West Coast for four years and accompanied Collet to Madras, where he was appointed surgeon, by Collet's influence, on £36 *per annum* salary.

*July 17th, 1717.*

TO MR. JOHN MORTON.

SIR,

I am to acknowledge the Receipt of your Letter dated the 22nd Jan. last by Mr. Skinner who is come a free Merchant, you say to reside here ; but in that I perceive you are mistaken. He design'd for Bengall and is already sail'd for that port. If at any time it happens to be in my power to do him service your recommendation shall not be forgot.

I am very much surpris'd at the treatment I have met with from Mr. Richard Wilkinson and Mr. Robert Ashurst with relation to the Adventure they made in company with you of £100 each by me to India, which was taken together with myself by the French at Brazill. They both demand their money with the Improvements as confidently as if it had proceeded to India and no Capture had happen'd. They both write in such a manner as that I must think their Brains are touch'd or else have a worse opinion of their honesty than I am willing to entertain.

I wish you all possible prosperity and am with Respect,

Sir,

Your Very Humble Serv't,

J. C.

*July 17th, 1717.*

TO MR. HENRY NORRIS.

SIR,

I am to acknowledge the Receipt of yours dated the 23rd Jan. last by your Brother who is in good health and finds himself in the Embraces of an old Friend.

The Persons who reported that I had given orders for the Discharge of my old Debts in England 12 months before the date of yours were very ignorant both of my Circumstances and of the Difficulty of making remittances from the place I then resided at. I had indeed determin'd to do it

on my Arrivall here and had wrote so to some of my Friends in England and accordingly I have perform'd it in such a manner as I thought most just and equitable.

I wish you health and continued prosperity and am,

Sir,

Your Very Humble Serv't.

*July 17th, 1717.*

TO MRS. GRACE BENYON.

MADAM,

I read in yours from the Cape with great pleasure the Account of your safe arrivall there and prospect of proceeding for England in the most agreeable Season of the year, where I hope you are happily arriv'd before the date of this. I have hitherto drank to your good voyage but now I number you amongst my Friends in England.

This place you know affords little News for the Entertainment of a Lady. All that I know is that Mrs. Curgenvin is return'd from Bengall without finding the expected Benefit from the Air of that place; and that the Town has been surpris'd with a Marriage between Mr. Turner and Mrs. Farmer which was first proclaim'd by sound of Trumpet, good Parson Long having ask'd no Questions at Church. Propagation goes on as usuall and Mrs. F.—[sic] cannot come home this year because She is breeding; the good Man says he will take care the same cause shall not hinder her next year.

As to Business I shall write you at large in Company with Mr. Benyon.<sup>1</sup> I must desire you to accept this as an Instance of my Friendship and to be assur'd that I am with great Sincerity,

Madam,

Your faithfull humble Serv't,

J. C.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Benyon was widow of Bernard Benyon, who had died in 1715. Richard Benyon, probably Bernard's brother, had arrived at Madras in 1710, entered council 1718, and rose to be governor in 1735.

*August 8th, 1717.*

TO MRS. MARY QUINCY.

DEAR SISTER,

I have receiv'd yours of the 16th Dec. last directed to my Son, one of the 5th Jan. to myself and another without date, which appears to have been wrote after the others and relates to your own circumstances. I shall at present only touch on that Subject as being of the greatest importance.

By the last year's Ships from hence which I hope are all safely arriv'd with you before this time, I gave orders that in case my Bills on the Company were duly complied with my Attorney should make a present of £200 to my Bro'r Quincy. If that be sufficient to extricate him out of the Difficultys you mention I hope it has been so applied ; but if it be not sufficient for that purpose, 'tis throwing water into the Sea and in such case the money will be much better applied to the maintenance of your Self and Children. A Sociable Temper is of itself very commendable, but may as well as many other good things be carried to an extream, and in narrow circumstances often proves fatall. I should have taken it well from you to have given me an open and free Account of his Affairs, which he has not done, tho' I have receiv'd a Letter from him by this Conveyance, so that being perfectly ignorant of the particular State of his Affairs I cannot propose any remedy for them. As to your Self and Children I now give order to my Attorneys in England to pay you £100 per annum Quarterly ; they are to pay it to your Self and take your receipt. I will not at this distance pretend to direct your manner of Life, but I would have you most liberall in your expense for the Education of your Daughters whom you ought to regard as my Nieces. My Prayers are for the Blessing of God on you and yours and I am sanguine enuff to expect a happy meeting in due time.

I am,

Dear Sister,

Your most Affec'te Bro'r and faithfull Friend,

J. C.



Aug. 8th, 1717.

TO MR. SAMUEL BAYLIE.

SIR,

. . . I am very much oblig'd to you for giving me this opportunity of renewing our ancient correspondence and for the particular account you give me of some publick Affairs which I have not receiv'd from any other hand. I see with pleasure the Storm is blown over and a happy Calm succeeds. Long may it last without interruption from those who call themselves the Ministers of Peace but too often prove the Disturbers of Nations. I have read the Bishop of Bangor's Book you mention and think it fully deserves the Character you give it.<sup>1</sup>

We have our Religious controversies here too, much about as important as yours are, but instead of high Church and low Church, they are distinguish'd by the Titles of Right hand Cast and Left hand Cast and tho' they both worship the same God and the same Devil, yet they differ about some certain Ceremonies which being misterious are very hard to explain. Their Feuds run so high that great Numbers, and many of them rich Inhabitants, deserted the Town. I interposed as head of the Church, establish'd Liberty of Conscience and oblig'd the Deserters to return, so that now we also are in perfect peace and upon a better Establishment than ever we were before.<sup>2</sup>

I thank God I am in good health and all my Affairs both

<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Bangor was Benjamin Hoadly, whose tract, *Preservative against the principles and practices of the Non-jurors* (1716), and sermon on *The Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ* (1717), gave rise to the Bangorian Controversy. His political and ecclesiastical views ensured his speedy promotion in the Anglican establishment, and he died Bishop of Winchester.

<sup>2</sup> The castes of South India fell into two groups called the Right-hand and the Left-hand. Collet errs in alluding to these groups as castes. Their respective privileges gave rise to numerous disputes. Cf. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, i, 120 sqq.; ii, 25-30.

publick and private in a prosperous State. I sincerely wish the same blessings to you and yours and am with reall respect,

Sir,

Your truly Affec'te, Friend  
and Humble Serv't,  
J. C.

*August 8th, 1717.*

TO MR. JAMES HARDING.

DEAR BROTHER,

. . . I observe the tender regard you express for my Safety occasion'd by your not having heard from me in the year past ; but you are not to be surpris'd at such accidents. Sometimes Ships meet with Storms and are disabled and drove back as has happen'd to me since my entering on this Government. The Ship Prince Frederick whom I dispatch'd in Feb'ry last proceeded above 120 Leagues on her Voyage, met with a severe Storm, was oblig'd to cut away almost all her Masts and return to this Port where she now is and will sail from hence to England again next month ; and sometimes Ships are quite lost. I think a Man ought never to suspect ill and make himself uneasy on possibilitys or bare probabilitys in which we are so often mistaken. My rule is never to trouble myself about uncertaintys, and certainty of Good is always joyous and certainty of Evill requires resignation ; and having learnt this Lesson I am never affected with Anxiety or Solitude any farther than is Necessary to order the present disposition of Means or the Attainment of future Ends ; when that is done I always leave the Event to God's Disposall, who knows what is good for me much better than I do myself.

. . . I congratulate you on the Encrease of your Family which I never did nor can think a Burthen. A good Education with a very moderate Fortune is sufficient. If it were

in my power to choose I would rather leave ten Children with £1000 apiece than one with £10,000. I pray God to grant his Blessing on you and them and am,

Dear Bro'r,

Your Affec'te Bro'r and Humble Serv't,

J. C.

*August 8th, 1717.*

TO MRS. ELIZABETH ROSS.

DEAR NIECE,

I have wrote to you since I receiv'd any from you. I expected a Line by some of the Ships lately arriv'd. Your Couzens will inform you when any Ships are coming and I expect you should write at least once every Season. Your Father is now with me and in good health. He has laid down the Company's Service and is going a Voyage in mine. Let me know how your Mother, Brother and Sisters do and tell them I shall be glad to hear of their welfare. Let your Conduct be always such as becomes your Character and you may be assured of the affection and promis'd care of

Your Loving Uncle,

J. C.

*August 14th, 1717.*

TO MR. SAMUEL COLLET.

DEAR BROTHER,

I have a friendly correspondence with the Reverend Mr. George Lewis formerly Minister of this place, now residing at or near London. He is perfectly master of the persian language and has made some curious collections here. I have recommended you to him, so that if you wait on him in my Name I believe he will give you some satisfaction on the Subject you write of. He is a man of truly primitive

is at the utmost height. It seems to me that the Missionarys are at present in the only method that can be proposed for doing good. I mean the Education of Children who being free from prejudices and not biassed by interest are capable of being taught what they please.

I must add that I should be glad to see our Instructors in Generall keep to plain Christianity as it is found in the New Testament whose native Simplicity outshines all the Pompous Additions of the Cathedrall and is much more substantial as well as easie than all the subtletys of the Schools. On this Subject I will propose one thing to you. That some judicious person would undertake to write a short and plain Catechism giving the principles of Natural Religion and so much of Christianity as is necessary and agreed to by all partys. Such a Piece may easily be extracted from Dr. Clark's Second Vol. of Sermons at Mr. Boyle's Lecture.<sup>1</sup> This Catechism to be Translated into Portugueze Language and sent hither. The Essentials of Christianity lie in a very little room. I mean so far as it is a Divine Revelation superadded to Naturall Religion.

I will not make an Apology for the freedom I have taken because I believe it agreeable to you but conclude with the assurance that I am with great sincerity,

Sir,

Your Most Humble Serv't,  
J. C.

19th Sept., 1717.

TO MR. SAMUEL COLLET.

DEAR BROTHER,

. . . I send my Will to my Brother Bedwell which I have order'd him to show you because I would not have you unacquainted with the state of my Affairs or of my purposes for your Family. I must give you a strict charge concerning the Education of your Sons whom I now look upon to be mine. If the allowance I have made should not

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Clarke was Boyle Lecturer in 1704 and 1705.

be in every respect sufficient you may add what you think necessary and I will make it good. May the blessing of God be on you and them and all yours and may we in due time have a chearfull meeting after the Storm that has separated us. I am,

Dear Brother,  
Your Most Affec'te Brother  
and Humble Serv't.

*December 23rd, 1717.*

TO MY DAUGHTERS.

I write to you joyntly because I have not time to write to you separately besides that I have nothing at present to say to any one of you which does not equally concern all. . . . I have only to say that I am in good health and doubt not of seeing you in due time, and that in the meanwhile I expect you should pay the same Deference and respect to the persons who have the care of you as you ought to do to Myself if present and particularly that you do not enter into any matrimonial Engagements without their Consent. Such a Step would render me irreconcilable and prove a bad return for the Fortunes I have allotted you in case of your Compliance with my orders. That the Blessing of God may constantly attend you in Soul and Body is the constant Prayer of

Your Affectionate Father,  
J. C.

TO MRS. ANN BEDWELL.

DEAR SISTER,

I send the enclos'd to my Daughters open under cover and desire you to communicate it to them. You will see by it that I do not think I have perform'd the whole Duty of a parent in providing a Fortune for them. I am yet more solicitous for their Conduct ; if that prove as it ought to be I shall think a Father's Care repaid by his Children's Duty.

I have order'd my Attorneys by this Conveyance to give down in Marriage with any one of them £5000 which I think a sufficient Sum to marry them handsomely. I mean to some Country Gentleman, Merchant of London or Man of Business in the Law, If I could give them ten times that Sum I would not marry one of them to quality. I am so much of an Indian that I would have them keep their Cast, I mean marry in their own rank of Life, and then the Addition of a Fortune will be a reall advantage to them.

I send my Brother Bedwell a ring seal'd up in Leather mark'd B of which I desire your Acceptance. Tho' small it is I think perfect in its kind and may serve for an Emblem of that perfect Friendship which has grown up between us from our Youth. I am,

Dear Sister,

Your Most Affec'te Bro'r and Humble Serv't,

J. C.

*Dec. 23rd, 1717.*

TO MR. SAMUEL COLLET.

DEAR BROTHER,

. . . My expected leisure has been interrupted by a war with the Moors. We have had one sharp engagement of an 150 Men of my Garrison with 300 Horse and 1000 Foot of the Enemy who were fairly beat with the Loss of above 30 Men kill'd and wounded and about the same number of Horse and 2 camels killed, wounded and taken without the Loss of one Man on our side. The Enemy have been very quiet ever since tho' there has not been one step towards a Treaty of Peace made on either Side. I have complain'd to Court of the Injury, the Enemy having given the first Affront, and expect the Commander who is obnoxious on other Accounts also, is near his ruin.

I have not yet been one year in my Government but in that short time three extraordinary Events out of the common road of Business have happen'd to me, the Dispute of the

Casts, the receipt of the Great Mogull's Grants, call'd the Phirmand, to the English Company, and the War with Diaram. A fourth is coming on in consequence of the 2nd ; I mean the taking possession of Deu Island, a noble country on this Coast, one of our new Grants and which I take to be of the utmost importance. But I have not time to enlarge on these Subjects now.<sup>1</sup>

I wait with impatience my next Letters from Europe by which I hope to hear my own Affairs are completed and my Family made easy. I also expect a full Account of your circumstances which I now regard as my own. That God Almighty may bless you and yours continually is the Constant prayer of,

Dear Brother,

Your Most Affec'te Bro'r and Humble Serv't,

J. C.

P.S. I send inclos'd Capt. Osborne's receipt for a hogs-head of tribble distill'd Goa Rack which is to be divided between your Self and Mr. John Travers.

*Feb'ry 11th, 1717/8.*

TO MRS. ELIZABETH COLLET.

DEAR DAUGHTER,

This comes by the Duke of Cambridge, Capt. Small, Commander. He brings a small Ebony Cabinet inlaid with Ivory and two pieces of Muslin consign'd to your Uncle Bedwell. The Cabinet is my present to your Self. One piece of Muslin I would have you present to your Aunt Bedwell and the other piece you may divide between your Self and Sisters.

I have nothing to write particular to them ; besides that I have not time to talk of anything but real business. My

<sup>1</sup> An adequate account of these episodes will be found in Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, ii, 141 sqq. "Deu" or Divi Island was withheld from the Company by the local ruler.

hopes are that you will all behave your selves worthy your growing fortunes, which will give me greater Satisfaction than the attainment of those fortunes or the power of placing you in a very distant rank of Life from what you had but lately in view. Tell your Sisters that my dayly prayers to Allmighty God are for his blessing on you and them. I am,

Dear Daughter,

Your truly Affec'te Father,

J. C.

*Feb'ry 14th, 1717/8.*

TO MRS. ANN BEDWELL.

DEAR SISTER,

. . . Two things have happen'd to me lately neither of which ever befell any person in this Station before. In October last I was engag'd in a War with the Moors, who came down with about 300 Horse and 1200 foot to seize some Villages lately granted by the Emperor to the English Company. I order'd a detachment of 150 men from my Garrison to march in the Night to the Town the Moors were possess'd of, which is about 7 miles distance. They enter'd the Town by break of day and were fir'd upon by the Moors; they soon return'd the compliment and in an hour's time drove all the Moors out of the Town. They rallied and continued skirmishing till about Noon and retreated too swiftly for my men to follow them. In this action about 30 of the Moors were killed and wounded with as many Horse and two Camels. Their Commander-in-Chief Dy'd of his wounds in a few days after; on our side there was not one man kill'd and only one Englishman and 2 or 3 blacks wounded. We have been in perfect peace ever since, and I believe the Moors will hardly venture within reach of our Cannon since they find we can beat them without their Assistance.

The other Circumstance is of a different kind. Last week arriv'd here an officer from the Court with a present of a



Vest and Turban from the great Mogoll to my self which is the Compliment made by him to Princes.<sup>1</sup> I was oblig'd to make a procession in that Habit, to Fire some hundred Cannon and make a splendid entertainment for people of various Nations. My reflection on all this is that I am quite sick of grandure and often sigh for Liberty, but Honour stands in the way. I do not mean the Idoll of vain applause but real duty and gratitude to my Honourable Masters. . . . I am,

Dear Sister,

Your Most Affec'te Brother

and Humble Servant,

J. C.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MRS. MARY COLLET.

HONOURED MOTHER,

I have receiv'd your Letters of the 12th Sept., 7th and 12th October last by the Ship Darby and read with pleasure the Satisfaction you find in your present Circumstances, and the Account you give of my own Family. As to my Daughters I have made no Difference in their fortunes in case of my death, excepting a very small preference to the eldest. I hope they will all regard the orders Given them not to engage in any Marriage Contract without the consent of my Attorneys. I think the two youngest may be very well content to stay till I come home which I design sooner than perhaps is expected. I write this Season for leave to Resign my Government and Expect to receive that permission time enough to leave this place in January 1720/1, that is next

<sup>1</sup> This present of raiment, known technically as a *khila't*, was customary under the Moghal Empire; but Collet was misled, probably by his interpreter, as to its significance. It was not "a compliment to princes," but a confirmation of the recipient in his office. The present occasion was the successful termination of the Company's embassy to Farrukhsiyar, who made numerous grants, most of which did not receive effect.

January come two years, and if so may probably see you by the June following, God granting Life and health.

I observe your Recommendation of Mr. Morse's Son, and have a great Regard to it. I have plac'd him in my Secretary's Office and have Given a strict charge to treat him well and keep him close to Business. By what I can judge of his behaviour hitherto I have great hopes of his doing very well. You may Assure Mrs. Morse that I will have a particular care of his Conduct.<sup>1</sup>

I am extreamly pleas'd with what you write me concerning my Daughter Betty, and hope the Rest will in time follow her Example. The positive Laws of Religion are Doubtless binding, but it is to minds Religiously dispos'd the duty of all who are Convinc'd of the truth of Christianity to make a publick profession of their belief, and a Declaration of their Resolution to obey the laws of Jesus Christ by being Baptiz'd in his Name.

I found Mr. Cox a private Soldier in my Garrison here, and usher to the free school. His whole Income was a very Scanty maintenance so that 'twas Impossible for him to Raise anything for his Family. I have made an addition of forty five shillings per month to his former allowance, which enables him to live somewhat more comfortably, but it is not in his power to send anything home.

I write to Mrs. Warner and Mrs. White by this Conveyance. Their Complaints are without Reason and unjust.

I hope in the time mention'd to Give and Receive the mutuall pleasure of seeing each other in health and peace, but if the Providence of God has otherways determin'd I doubt not of our meeting in that happy State, where we shall never be separated more. I am,

Hon'd Mother,

Your most Dutifull Son,

J. C.

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Morse here mentioned was destined to follow Collet both as deputy-governor of Fort Marlborough and governor of Madras, though with very different success. He was descended from Oliver Cromwell through the latter's daughter, Bridget Ireton.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MY DAUGHTER ELIZABETH COLLET.

DEAR DAUGHTER,

I have receiv'd by this year's Shipping your severall Letters dated the 8th Oct'r, the 14th and 25th of Dec'r last.

As to Mr. White's Affair I write his Sisters by this Conveyance. I believe the Account sent home was sign'd by my Self, for on his Death I took the Management of his Affairs into my own hands, and found them to be in the posture I advis'd you from the West Coast.

I suppose Mr. Shyllinge is long before this arriv'd in England where I hope he will be able to vindicate himself from the heavy Charge laid on him by my Successour there.

I can add nothing to what I have already wrote about your Marriage, only that two persons have been mention'd to me here, Mr. Lock and Mr. Goddard. I like both the Familys very well and suppose their Fortunes may be agreeable, if engag'd in a good way of Business, but there are other Circumstances of which Yourself can only judge; I mean agreeableness of person and Temper. Tho' I hope to see you within three years after the date of this, yet I don't desire you should continue so long in a single State. Whenever you marry remember that it is the Husband's part to be head and Protector, and the Glory of the Wife to be his delight.

It is no small satisfaction to me to read that you have taken upon your Self a publick profession of the Christian Name by being Baptiz'd according to the Institution of our Lord and Saviour. May his Grace conduct you thro' all the Various Scenes of your Future Life, and enable you so to Discharge the Duty of every Station as that you may be Constantly Accepted by him, and at length Receive that reward which he will bestow on all that persevere in well doing to the end.

I am very much pleas'd at the Residence of your Self and

Sisters at my Brother Bedwell's and that it is so much to your Satisfaction. I shall be glad to find you there when I return to England, unless you should be remov'd to a family of your own.

The Weather has been much hotter here this season than Usual, as the old Inhabitants affirm. I am sure it has been very troublesome, and at the first entrance Indispos'd me pretty much, but thro' God's mercy I am now in good health. However, I long to be at home, and shall lose no time when I can Return with Honour. May God Almighty Bless you Continually in Soul and Body, and may you walk answerable to his abundant Goodness towards you. I am,

Dear Daughter,

Your truly Affec'te Father.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MY DAUGHTER MARY COLLET.

DEAR DAUGHTER,

I have by the Ships this Season receiv'd your Letters dated the 7th Oct. and 1st of Jan'y last, and also one by Capt. Lewis without any date, and am very well pleas'd with the Account you give of your Self as well as what is wrote me by other hands. You have an Equal Share in my affections with the Rest of your Sisters, and I doubt not your behaviour will deserve it. I am pleas'd that you Reside with your Grandmother and Aunt Quincy ; you cannot want the opportunitys of a good Education, which will Qualifie you for the Enjoyment of an Easy fortune.

. . . If you should think of Marrying before my Return I require of you to have the consent of Gov. Harrison and my bro'r Bedwell, and in such case I have appointed you a fortune equal with your eldest Sister. As for the Younger I think they may very well stay till I come home.

Your Sister Betty has taken one Step which I perfectly approve. I mean her being Baptiz'd in the Christian Faith. I would have you study your Duty in that case, and shall

be glad to hear you have follow'd her Example. Consider that every one who believes Jesus Christ to be the Messiah ought to become Subjects of his Kingdom, and yield Obedience to his Laws. That his Blessing may always attend you is the Constant Prayer of,

Dear Daughter,

Your truly Affec'te Father,

J. C.

*Aug. 28th, 1718.*

TO MY DAUGHTER ANN COLLET.

DEAR DAUGHTER,

Your Letters . . . inform me of your health and the Satisfaction you have in being plac'd with your Sisters at my Bro'r Bedwell's.

You cannot be more desirous of my return than myself, but I am oblig'd to wait for an honourable Dismission. . . . I am pleas'd with the manner in which you speak of Religion, and shall be glad to hear you have follow'd the Example set by your Sister, for that as well as other Respects. I pray God to bless you Continually and am,

Dear Daughter,

Your truly Affec'te Father,

J. C.

TO MY DAUGHTER HENRIETTA.

DEAR DAUGHTER,

I have receiv'd your severall Letters . . . and am pleas'd to find you Esteem yourself happy in being plac'd with your Aunt Bedwell. You have all possible opportunities of Instruction in every thing proper for you to learn, and the examples of Religion and Virtue for your Imitation. It must be your care to improve all these to your own Advantage which I doubt not you will Constantly endeavour to do. I hope to see you again within three years from the date of

this, and to find you Qualified for your Enjoyment of the Fortunes you have in view. I pray God to Bless you continually and am,

Dear Daughter,

Your truly Affec'te Father,

J. C.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MRS. ANN BEDWELL.

DEAR SISTER,

. . . I read in your Letters with the utmost Pleasure the particular Account you give me of my own Family. Nothing could be more agreeable to me than the present Disposition of my Daughters. I doubt not your Friendship will engage you to bear with the Trouble till my Return, unless if any of them should be dispos'd of in Marriage before that time ; and in such case I know you will use all your Interest with them to Guide their minds to such a Choice as may give the Hopes of a happy Life. I would have all thoughts of Greatness laid aside, and true Happiness set in View ; that is, an Agreeable Companion with an Easy Fortune and a Reasonable Expectation of maintaining a Family in the same Rank.

. . . I shall let my Particular Friends of the Court know that I do not make that request [for leave to resign] out of Compliment with a design to be Refus'd, but in good Earnest and that I am resolv'd, God granting Life and Health to return at that time.

I observe that you think Dancing a warm Exercise in this Country. I own it is so during the time of the Land Winds which now blow fresh, and therefore I abstain. But the Ladies would think me very uncomplaisant to Refuse a Country dance with them in the milder Season. Besides that a little Gayety is somewhat of Relief midst the Fatigue of Business. But I find a man's conduct at Madrass is no Secret at London.

Nat Ross is arriv'd and will be taken care of ; his Father may probably arrive from Moco before this comes away, and if so, you will hear from himself. For my own part I am oblig'd to snatch an hour as I can for Family Letters. Believe me a Gov'r of Madrass that is also a Merchant does not live an Idle Life.

I wish you and yours all Prosperity in Soul and Body, and am with the utmost Sincerity,

Dear Sister,

Your most Aff. Brother,  
and humble Serv't.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MRS. MARY QUINCY.

DEAR SISTER,

. . . I am pleas'd to find that the first Supply I order'd came so Seasonably. I last year order'd an addition to it, which I hope will make you more Easy. I have already taken care of your Children in case of my death, as well as of yourself, but I now Entertain hopes of seeing you within 3 years from the date of this.

I heartily wish my Brother good Success in his new Profession which I think him better Qualified for than his former Employment. I shall not be wanting to Give him the Assistance of a Relation and Friend, when it may be of Reall Service to the Interests of his Family.

. . . It would be a very great Mortification to me if any of my Daughters should marry without the Consent of those to whose care I have intrusted them. Such a step is irretrievable, and therefore would Render me irreconcilable any farther than barely in case of Necessity to Supply them with food and Rayment. I do not mean by this that I would have a great Fortune their chief regard. It is of more Importance that the Person be a man of Reputation, and Sobriety, in a Regular Way of Life, likely to maintain a Family in the Rank of Life he has assum'd.

Present my Love to my Nieces, and let them know that I esteem them as Part of my Family and shall take care of them Accordingly.

I pray God to Bless you and yours continually and that it may please him to give us a happy Meeting in peace on this side Eternity. I am,

Dear Sister,

Your Most Affec'te Bro'r,

and humble Serv't,

J. C.

P.S. Nov. 7th, 1718. I have made Mr. Moulton Supra Cargo in the Room of my Brother Ross dec'd and he is gone to Mocha.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MRS. ANN ROSS, SENR.

SISTER,

I have receiv'd yours of the 10th of Oct'r last by Capt. Fitzhugh in which you acquaint me with your purpose of sending your son Nat to me. He is arriv'd and in good health and I shall take care of him.

My Bro'r Ross left Bencoolen the beginning of last year, and is gone Supra Cargoe of one of my Ships to Mocha in the Red Sea ; I expect him here in a short time, perhaps before this may come away. He has the prospect of making an advantageous voyage for himself.

By this Conveyance I shall order my attorneys to do something for both your Daughters. I doubt not that my Brother will take care to send the needfull Supplies for your Self, which he will be very well able to do, if his present Voyage answers our Expectations.

I am,

Your Humble Servant,

J. C.



*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MRS. ELIZABETH ROSS.

DEAR NIECE,

I have receiv'd yours of the 13th Octo'r last which I now answer by the first Opportunity, so that you see the Reason of my not writing to you before was because I had receiv'd none from you.

By this Conveyance I order my Attorneys Govr. Harrison and my Bro'r Bedwell to take some Care of you, and particularly to make you an allowance of twenty pounds a year whilst you continue unmarried and in case of your Marriage with their consent to Give you £500 pounds fortune. If a fair offer by a sober man in a thriving way of business should be made I would have you accept it. That the Blessing of God may constantly attend you is the hearty Prayer of

Yours Affectionately,  
J. C.

TO MRS. ANN ROSS, JUNR.

DEAR NIECE,

I have receiv'd yours of the 17th Octo'r and 17th Dec'r last, in both which you make an Apology for taking the liberty of Writing to me. But I must tell you your fault was not Writing before. If you had I should have answer'd your Letters as readily as I do now.

[With a second paragraph to the same effect as in the foregoing letter.]

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO THE LADY WILLS.

MADAM,

I am honour'd with yours of the 15th Oct. and 20th Dec. last ; in the former I read with pleasure even the misfortunes of some part of my family in the light you have

set them. It is now both in my Inclination and Power to make them Easy and in some Degree to reward the Virtues you so pathetically describe.

Your Recommendation of Mr. Moulton shall have its full weight with me. At present the Shipping of this place is all abroad, and there are two Gentlemen here, whom by Virtue of a prior promise I am oblig'd to provide for. I have acquainted Mr. Moulton with my purpose of Entertaining him as a Supra Cargoe in one of my Ships next after the obligations above mention'd are perform'd.

. . . I have hopes of seeing your Ladyship in England about the month of June 1721 and of personally Expressing my Gratefull Acknowledgments for the tender Friendship you have Express'd for me and mine. In the mean time

I am,

Madam,

Your most Obed't Humble Serv't.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MRS. GRACE BENYON.

MADAM,

I receiv'd with pleasure in yours by the Darby [the news] of your Safe arrivall in England and of the agreeable alteration you found in your children, on both which I heartily congratulate you. I Return you many thanks for your kindness to my Daughters, who advise me that they have the Liberty of Conversing with you.

As to Mr. Benyon his own Merit has establish'd him with me. You will be Inform'd that he is now one of Councill here, and I doubt not will be confirm'd by the Court of Directors at home.

I am,

Madam,

Your most Obed't Humble Serv't.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MRS. JANE MORSE.

MADAM,

I have receiv'd your obliging Letter dated the 28th Dec'r by your Son, who is safely arriv'd and in good health. He appears to be sober, Diligent, and of an obliging Temper, so that I have great hopes of his Doing well in the Company's Service. While I continue at the head of Affairs in this place I promise to take a particular care of him, and in order to do it have plac'd him in the Secretary's Office with orders to have him kept close to Business. Mr. Norris is also very kind to him by advising and Assisting him on all Occasions.

Now, Madam, I look back with you on the past Scenes of both our Lives. You have enjoy'd the Affluence of a plentyfull Fortune, and in those Circumstances discharg'd your Duty both to God and man. You are now call'd to the Exercise of other Virtues, such as a State of Adversity requires, Resignation, Submission, Hope, and Trust. May the Almighty Support you under and deliver you out of all your Troubles.

I am,

Madam,

Your Affectionate Friend  
and most Humble Serv't.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MRS. ELIZA WARNER AND MRS. MARY WHITE.

LADYS,

I have receiv'd a Letter from you dated the 16th Oct. wherein you desire me to make a further Enquiry concerning the Effects of your deceas'd brother Mr. White, which is impossible to be done, because I had made the utmost Enquiry I could before I clos'd his Accounts, which all pass'd through my own hands, and of which a Just Account

has been sent to England. You call his Will most Ridiculous, and very Justly, because he has given severall Legacys without leaving any Effects to discharge them. I have given Mr. Ellwicke a particular Account of his affairs who writes you by this Conveyance.

Since my Arrivall here a Picture is come to my hands, which by the Paper it's wrap'd in belongs to Mrs. Warner. I have deliver'd it to Capt. Benj. Graves whose Receipt for it comes Inclosed. I am

Ladys,

Your very humble Serv't,  
J. C.

P.S. *Nov. 7th, 1718.*

Capt. Graves' Ship has since been unfortunately cast away and your Picture lost, as himself will acquaint you.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MESSRS. JOHN AND JOSEPH COLLET.

MY SONS,

I have receiv'd your Severall Letters by the Shipping of this Season, wherein you Express your Consent to the change of Relation and your satisfaction in becoming my adopted Sons instead of Nephews. I shall therefore now write you with the Authority of a Parent, and write to you jointly because what I have to say to Either Equally concerns both.

I entirely approve the method of Education you are in ; it must be your Care by a diligent Application to make the best Improvement of it. Till I return I transfer my Authority over you to your own Father whom you are now to obey as before tho' on a Different Account. Let Religion be your first Care. He that makes Conscience of Discharging his Duty to God, will never fail of discharging his Duty to men also. Emulate each other in Virtue and learning, and also in Mutuall love and friendship.

I hope it will not be long before I see you, when I shall take you under my Immediate Care. That the Blessing of God may attend you is the constant prayer of

Your Affectionate Father,  
J. C.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MR. SAMUEL COLLET.

DEAR BROTHER,

I have receiv'd your severall Letters you sent me by the shipping of this Season, and without regard to their Respective Dates shall answer them all in Generall.

I am extremely pleas'd to find the supply I sent you come so seasonably ; the addition I made last year will make you perfectly Easy.

I accept the Transfer you have made of your Sons to me, and as they have also declar'd their Consent, I now no longer Esteem them yours but my own. However I have order'd them during my Absence to obey you as their Father, as you will see by the Inclos'd Letter directed to them.

I observe that you are press'd for recommendations. You need not be uneasy at it, for I look upon every thing of that kind as a matter of form, unless there be something very particular in a private Letter. To tell you a plain truth, I forget nine recommendations in ten that are sent me, so that it's only your trouble of writing and you need not Refuse it anybody ; only when you are in earnest, take care to mention the Person and Circumstances in your private Letter.

'Twas very happy for the Author that the Pamphlet you mention was not publish'd ; such an open Attack of some Articles would have expos'd him to the Penalties for the Act of Uniformity.

I am pleas'd to see a truly Christian Bishop stand up for

the Rights of mankind, but what must I then think of the Bulk of the Clergy of England. May God Almighty bless the Bishop's labours to the opening of the People's Eyes, and the overthrow of all Ecclesiastical Tyranny. I have had a Quarrel with the Church here which ran so high that I sent a peremptory order to the Parson to deliver the Keys of the Church ; he has since submitted, beg'd pardon and promis'd Amendment. He sees that while I have the Civill power I will also be Head of the Church. I wish good King George had the same power in England.

. . . I have told you formerly that the heats of India are a Bugbear, but I find it other wise here. The Landwinds are so severe that tho' I am in perfect health I can hardly live thro' the day, and yet when almost Expiring the Sea Breeze in a few Minutes restores the Spirits to their former Vigour, but I am told by the old Inhabitants that the Landwinds this year have been more Severe than they have been known for Many Past.

I write this at least a month before the dispatch of any Ship as I can snatch a little time ; I suppose I shall have Occasion to write you again by the Same Conveyance. I conclude this with Recommending you to the Divine protection and assuring you that I am

Dear Brother,

Your most Affec'te Brother,  
and humble Serv't.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO DOCTOR JOHN QUINCY.

DEAR BROTHER,

I have receiv'd yours by the Darby without any Date, and the Chest of Medicines according to my order. The medicines of every kind prove very good, but I should have lik'd the Cordials lower drawn, because I have nothing to

lower them with but plain Water and they are too Strong to be drank alone.

My Surgeon approves the medicines you sent him, and has not complain'd to me of the price ; I suppose he will write you by this Conveyance.

I am inform'd by the Doctor of the Bonita that you have taken your Degree of Doctor, which is Confirm'd by a Book he has given me dedicated to my Self ; I therefore Expect one from you by the next Conveyance. I heartily wish you good Success and entirely approve your Change of Employment.

I now turn my thoughts towards England, where I hope to see you within 3 years after the date of this. In the mean time I heartily wish you health and prosperity and am

Your Affec'te Brother  
and humble Serv't.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO RICHARD WOOLLASTON, ESQ.

SIR,

I receiv'd yours dated the 16th Dec'r last by your Son, Recommending him to my Favour, as also your eldest Son George, late of this place. I am sorry that I am oblig'd to advise you in return that your Son George died some months since, and tho' he was in an advantageous Post, and had my Favour, yet I fear he has left his Affairs in so much confusion for want of keeping regular Accounts that there will not be sufficient to pay his Debts. He was indebted to me above 2000 Pags. and pretty large Sums to other persons ; but his Affairs are in the hands of men of Capacity and Integrity who will make the most they can of his Effects for the Benefit of the Estate.

Your other Son desiring my Favour I offer'd him either to Write on his Behalf to my Friends in England or else to

provide for him in my Shipping here. After some Deliberation he has Accepted the latter and I shall take care of him Accordingly.

I am,

Sir,

Your most humble Ser't,

J. C.

P.S. November 7th, 1718.

Since the above, your Son is gone 2nd Mate of one of my Ships to Surat.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MR. JOSEPH HARDING.

HON'D SIR,

I have receiv'd yours by Nat. Ross recommending him to my Favour. I expect his Father here in a short time from Mocha in the Red Sea, whither he is gone Supra Cargoe of one of my Ships. If the Cargoe proves Successfull, he will make a considerable Improvement of his fortune.

I return thanks for the kind advice you Give me not to suffer the Concerns of this Life to weaken my Regards for a future State. . . . As to happyness in this Life I should be much more Content with a Retirement in my Native Country and one half of the Wealth I am now Master of, than with all the Additions I can Expect, incumber'd with that pomp and Grandeur which I am oblig'd to assume in order to the discharge of my Duty. A Retir'd Walk with a Sincere Friend would be more agreeable to me, than to be encompass'd with Guards, and entertain'd with the Noise of Drums and Trumpets. . . . In the mean time I Recommend you to the Divine protection and am

Hon'd Sir,

Your obedient Son,  
and humble Serv't.



August 28th, 1718.

TO MR. MAJOR CARPENDER.

SIR,

I have receiv'd yours dated the 10th Sept. last by Nat. Ross whom I have taken under my Care. I expect his Father shortly from Mocha, whither he is gone Supra Cargoe of one of my Ships. . . . He made some remittances for his Family last year, and for the discharge of his Debts which could not be arriv'd before the Date of yours. I must take the freedom to tell you, that the Good people in England who are not us'd to the India Trade are much too hasty in their expectations from us here ; some of them seem to think, that a man might come out, Get an Estate, and remitt it home before there has been time enough to receive the Answer of a Letter. My Brother Ross has done very well for his time, and with the Blessing of God is like to Get up a Moderate Competency.

I observe there has been Some Difficulty about the paying of my old Debts, which not a little Surprises me. I design'd the Contribution money <sup>1</sup> should be paid as well as the Debt itself and my Brother Bedwell understood me so ; but not having particularly express'd that design, my Brother could not pay the Contribution money without making himself answerable to my Estate in Case of my Death. But I cannot see the least Colour of Reason for any of my Creditors Refusing to receive their money as he offer'd it. They might conclude if I design'd the Contribution Money should be paid that I would order a 2d payment which I now do ; and I am of opinion that in case of my Death, before their receipt of my Debts, they will lose the whole Sum ; because I have made no provision in my Will for any such Accident, not thinking it possible for any body to refuse money so tender'd.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 194 *infra*.

. . . I hope to see you in less than 3 years and to have the Opportunity of Assuring you personally that I am

Sir,

Your Sincere Friend  
and humble Serv't.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO COLONELL SAMUELL WESTALL.

SIR,

I have receiv'd yours of the 17th Dec. last congratulating me on my Accession to this Government and Recommending Mr. Richard English to my favour. I return thanks for the first, and as for the other I took his Sister on her Arrivall last year into my Immediate Care, had given her in Marriage<sup>1</sup> and Esteem her as my Daughter here. Her husband, Mr. Oadham is our Essay master, is in a very good way, and does not want for my Assistance on all Occasions. I have put the Young man to his Brother in Law, at his Request, who has promis'd to Instruct him in his particular Business which may lay the foundation of a Fortune for him.

I hope shortly to see you in England, having wrote to my Hon'ble Masters for leave to Resign. In the mean time I am

Sir,

Your most humble Serv't.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MR. WILLIAM NEWBERRY.

SIR,

I have receiv'd your very friendly Letter dated the 18th Octob'r last, but must acknowledge that I don't pretend to any Merit in doing what in my own Esteem is no more than an Act of Strict Justice.

<sup>1</sup> Mary English was married to Catesby Oadham on October 7, 1717.

When I gave my Brother Bedwell orders to pay off those Debts the Circumstance of the Contribution money did not Occurr to my Memory, which was the Reason it was not particularly mention'd. My Design was that my Creditors should Receive their full Debts, and that the Charge of the Statute should fall on my Self. I now Give my Bro'r Bedwell orders to pay the Sixpence in the Pound Contribution money to all my Creditors.

. . . I recommend you and yours to the Divine protection and am,

Sir,  
Your humble Serv't,  
J. C.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MR. JOHN BELLAMY.

SIR,

I have receiv'd yours dated the 25th Oct. last wherein you return thanks for my kindness to Mr. Garret, and Recommend Mr. Draper to my Favour. You have the Good Fortune to Succeed in your 2nd recommendation as well as in your former. It is by his hand I write this Letter to you, by which you will know how he is intrusted with my private Affairs, which is the Readiest way to Rise here.<sup>1</sup>

Since my Coming from the West Coast Mr. Garret has been treated very roughly there, whether justly or unjustly, I am not yet sufficiently Inform'd to Judge, but I very much Suspect the Latter. I am,

Sir,  
Your humble Serv't,  
J. C.

<sup>1</sup> Draper was later on appointed secretary to the Madras Council, then councillor, and in 1720 went as deputy-governor to Fort Marlborough.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MR. JOHN GEE.

SIR,

I have receiv'd yours of the 18th Nov. and 9th Dec. last recommending your Nephew Mr. Richard Gee and your Brother Mr. Zachary Gee to my Favour. The former died a few days after his arrivall ; the latter has been very ill but is now in the way of a Recovery. I have promis'd him my Assistance farther than by Advice and Counsel, and design the first good Employment that offers in my way for him ; I mean Supra Cargoe of one of my Ships which is the only way a free Merchant can advance himself here, unless he has a large Stock to begin with. As I have known what it is to go thro' deep Afflictions, I have learn'd to Compassionate others in the like distress. I am,

Sir,

Your humble Serv't.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MR. JOSEPH STENNET AT

° ABERGAVENNY IN MONMOUTHSHIRE.

SIR,

I receiv'd yours dated the 13th August last with an Account of your Settlement in the Country. I have not forgot the friendship so firmly establish'd betwixt your Father and my Self. I last year order'd my Bro'r Bedwell to present £50 on my Account to such Branches of the Family as might Stand in most need of Assistance, which I doubt not he has perform'd. I now hope e'er long to return to England, and then shall take some occasion farther to show the tender regards I have for your Father's family. I am,

Sir,

Your humble Serv't.

TO DOCTOR PAUL TANNER,  
AT THE SAME PLACE.

SIR,

I was very well pleas'd to have an old acquaintance renew'd by yours of the 15th Aug't last, tho' in it you have Discover'd a very large Mistake in taking an India Governour for a Philosopher. Whatever Inclinations I might have to Studies of that kind formerly, it is Impossible to Gratifie them in my present Circumstances. Souldier, Statesman, and Merchant are Employments enough in Conscience for any one Man. To speak the Truth I begin to be Tired, and am endeavouring to obtain a release. . . . I heartily wish you health and prosperity, and am,

Sir,

Your humble Serv't.

*Aug't 28th, 1718.*

TO THE REV'D MR. PETER NEWCOME.

REV'D SIR,

I am to acknowledge the Receipt of yours dated the 30th of Dec. last by Mr. Gee, wherein you desire a Continuance of my Favours to your Son at Bencoolen. The Affairs of that place have taken a strange turn since I left it. I am not yet perfectly Inform'd of the particulars nor do I know what part your Son has had in the late Management. When I am able to make a Judgment of the Transactions there, my Respect for your Self will oblige me to Show as much kindness to your Son as the Circumstances of Affairs will permitt. . . . I am,

Rev'd Sir,

Your most humble Serv't.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO THE REV'D MR. NATHANIEL HODGES.

REV'D SIR,

I have receiv'd yours dated the 23rd of Nov. last recommending Mr. Thomas Symonds to my Favour; but as he is an Apprentice to Capt. Lewis and has as yet Serv'd but two years of his time he cannot be thought Qualified for any present Employment here, and by that time he could have made a voyage or two in the Country I shall be on my Return for England, so that I think it would be a disservice to him to keep him here.

I return thanks for the Bishop of Bangor's Treatise. I am highly pleas'd to see a Christian Bishop dare to assert the Rights of Mankind in Generall and of Christians in particular with such force of Reason, and Clearness of Evidence from Scripture. I am astonish'd both at the weakness and Impudence of the lower house of Convocation, that while they call themselves Christians, they dare to Avow a Right to prescribe Articles of Faith for other Men to Believe, and to Enforce that Belief by Temporall Penalties. May God almighty overthrow their Devices. and Confound all Tyranny, Ecclesiastick and Civil.

I hope to See you in less than 3 years after this. . . . May the Blessing of the One True God thro' the One Mediator attend you and yours Continually. I am,

Rev'd Sir,

Your most Aff'te Friend,  
and Humble Servant.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO THE REV'D MR. MOSES LOWMAN.

REV'D SIR,

. . . The Soonest I can return will be next January come two years and then I may hope to See you in the month of June 1721.

Were I to gratifie my own Inclinations at my Return, a private Retir'd Life would be my Choice ; but while there is such a Glorious Stand making for Liberty I cannot think of Quitting the busie field and that I may have it in my Power to do some Reall Service I now write to my Attorneys to procure me a Qualifying Estate and if possible to Get me Elected before my Arrivall. I think the Choice of a new parliament will happen about that time, and I imagine it will not be Difficult for me to obtain a Seat.

I find you use your old Caution in Writing, but as you do not sign your Name you have no Occasion for such Reserve. I know not whether my Bro'r Sam has shown you a Discourse of some Sheets in Length on the Subject you hint at. If not I wish you would read it and Consider it before I come home.

I am perfectly charm'd with the Bishop of Bangor's writings, but from the lower house of Convocation, Libera me Domine.

I am yet at a Loss for the particular free thinker you design.

Mr. Norris continues with me and will also Return with me to England. I assure you his coming hither proves very Agreeable to me in a place where I can have little Conversation but upon the Subject of Business.

Mr. Davy is well and just now made Secretary of Fort St. Davids.. I am with the utmost Sincerity,

Rev'd Sir,

Your most Aff'te Friend,  
and Humble Serv't.

*Aug't 28th, 1718.*

TO MR. GEORGE RICHARDSON.

DEAR SIR,

I have receiv'd yours of the 21st of Oct. and 20th of Dec. last with the Account of my Affairs in your hands. I

am sorry to find there should have been any Misapprehensions concerning the Contribution money. . . . But I am surpris'd that any should so much as hint at Interest for their money that was Lent on Bond. I believe that you'll be of opinion such a Demand is unjust in itself. Interest for money arises from the use that is Suppos'd to be made of it ; but when a man has deliver'd up to his Creditors the last farthing that was in his possession, I cannot see on what Ground the pretence of Interest can be founded. I have put my self in the Case of a Creditor, and should think myself Guilty of Extortion in making such a demand.

Now my Friend, I am to let you know that I am tir'd with the Exercise of Power, and more than satisfied with Wealth. . . . I have met with unusuall Difficultys during my Administration, but the Providence of God has carried me thro' them all, and given Success to all my Undertakings. My firm dependance on his Goodness has been my Constant Support and he has crown'd that Trust with abundant Blessings. I have found as great Reason to maintain a strictly Religious Temper of mind when exalted by Prosperity as ever I did whilst depress'd by Adversity. Happiness is in the mind and very little affected by our outward Circumstances, when we once come to be firmly resign'd to the Divine Disposal from a firm belief that our good God will choose for us better than we can for ourselves. May the Blessing of God attend you and yours continually. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most Aff'te Friend,  
and humble Serv't.

P.S. As the money to my Daughters out of the Estate at Bow becomes due I desire you to pay it to my Bro'r Bedwell who will join with them in Giving you a Discharge.



*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MESSRS. GEORGE RICHARDSON AND  
MAJOR CARPENDER.

SIRS,

. . . I must now desire you to get the Commissioner Superceeded, and to deliver up all my Books and papers to my Bro'r Bedwell, and also to Assign over whatever Remains there may be of my Estate in your hands to my Attorneys. I am,

Gentlemen,

Your very Humble Serv't.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO DAVID POLEHILL, ESQ.

SIR,

Tho' our Acquaintance has been long Interrupted, I take the liberty of Renewing it by writing to you on the behalf of Mr. Morse, now with me in India. I am very much concern'd for the misfortunes of that Family, and shall do all that I can for the Young man here by putting him into a Station wherein he may be forwarded in the Company's business and in some Measure under my own Eye whilst I stay. But the Company's Salary which is but £5 a year to a writer will not purchase Necessary Apparell, much less provide for other Expenses; for some there will be tho' a man be ever so frugall. Mr. Norris informs me that you Design to do something for this Young Man; if you think fit to send any money to me for his Use I will Improve it for his Account while I stay, and when I come away I will put it into such hands as will make the most of it for him. I am,

Sir,

Your most humble Serv't,

J. C.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO DANIEL DOLINS, ESQ.

DEAR SIR,

. . . I am pleas'd with the Account you give me of Mr. Cooke's Success in promoting a Reformation of Manners in the English Factory at Smyrna. The English Inhabitants of this place formerly liv'd very loosely, having been corrupted by the Example of some Governours. Govr. Pitt gave some Check to the Licentious, Govr. Harrison made a further progress in the Reformation of Manners, and I think at this time, take the whole Body of the English, they live at least as inoffensively as any equal Number of people in any part of the World. Vice is Scandalous and they that will practice it know that they can neither hope to Rise in the Government, nor preserve the Credit necessary for a Private Merchant.

The last Subject leads me to say something of our Parsons. Mr. Stevenson went home by the last February Ship, literally Distracted. The other, Mr. Long, has been sick almost ever since, so as to be incapable of Discharging the Dutys of his Office. When our Church Doors had been kept Shut for near 3 months, I grew very uneasy at so long an Interruption of the publick Worship and pitch'd on two Gentlemen in the Company's Service, one to read prayers, and the other one of Archbishop Tillotson's Sermons every Sunday. When I sent to acquaint Mr. Long with the Resolution he refus'd to deliver the keys of the Church, and said we might meet in the Town hall, since we had not a duely ordain'd person to Officiate. I was oblig'd on this to Exert the Gov'r and sent a peremptory Message to demand the keys of the Church, threatening in case of Refusal to break open the doors ; on which he submitted, so that I continue head of the Church. We leave out the Athanasian and Nicene Creeds, and if it would not be too Great an Offence to some very pious people of our Congregation, I should leave out the Litany also.

I doubt not you will Receive from the Danish Missionarys an Account of their Progress. I know not whether I wrote too freely on that Subject to Mr. Newman last year. . . . I fear I am already taken for a Heretick in England, but my Comfort is that in the way that they call Heresie so worship I the God of my Fathers. May G<sup>o</sup>d Almighty increase the Glowing Light, and diffuse the principles of Charity and Brotherly Love, amongst all that in Sincerity call upon the Name of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. . . .

You tell me the Dissenters are Divided in their Sentiments about the partial Repeal of the Qualifying Laws. I am told by another hand that the Division among the Whigs was likely to put a stop to the whole. For my own part I should be for taking what I could get. It is better Gaining Ground by Inches than Standing Still. . . .

I Recommend you and yours to the Divine protection and favour and am with Great Sincerity,

Dear Sir,

Your Aff. Friend,

and most humble Serv't.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MR. WILLIAM WHISTON.

SIR,

I have receiv'd your obliging Present of your Book entitled *Astronomicall Principles of Religion*, which I have read with much Pleasure. The Application of Philosophy to the Service of Divinity is most Just in itself and will always be agreeable to those Persons who are capable of forming Just Sentiments of those Subjects, and I think can be oppos'd by none but the Sensual Philosopher, the Bigotted Enthusiast, or the Artfull Priest, who would Impose upon the poor Laity such Doctrines as will not bear the Test of Reason or Philosophy.

I congratulate you, Sir, on your Success in the first publick Attempt to open the Eyes of the People to a Truth

of the Greatest Importance, which is I hope gaining ground abundantly. Your Sufferings on that Account are an Additional Glory. May the one true God reward you with his Continued Favour here, and Eternall Blessings hereafter.

I am,

^ Sir,

Your most humble Serv't.

*August 28th, 1718.*

TO MESSRS. JACOB LARWOOD, SENR. AND JUNR.

MERCHANTS IN AMSTERDAM.

SIRS,

. . . I now begin to turn my thoughts towards England. . . . I may perhaps think it convenient to lodge some Money in Holland, and in order will desire to know of you whether there be any Secure Method of making a small Improvement in your Bank or any other Funds. The Doubtfullness of the Publick Affairs in England puts me upon this Thought, that in case my Native Country should Refuse me, I may find a Retreat and moderate support with you. My Zeal for the Present Establishment is so well known, that if the Opposite Party should prevail I must not think of living in England with Safety. I am,

Sirs,

Your truly Affec'te Friend,

and humble Servant,

J. C.

TO MR. HENRY NEWMAN,  
OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE,  
LONDON.

*August 28th, 1718.*

SIR,

I am Inform'd by yours of the 24th of Oct. last that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts were pleas'd with my Resolutions to concur with them in

their work. I shall leave it to the Danish Missionarys to Inform you how far these Resolutions have been put in Execution. May God crown the Work with desir'd Success.

I wrote my Sentiments on the Subject so freely last year, that I need add nothing to it at present. The Missionarys have oblig'd me with a Translation of King George's Letter to them, the originall being in High Dutch. He congratulates them on the Progress they have made, offers up his prayers for their further Success, and assures them of his readiness to assist them.

The Cargo sent on our Ships for the Service of the Mission has been carefully forwarded to Tranquebar. I am,

Sir,

Your most Hum'ble Serv't,

J. C.

TO MRS. ELIZABETH DRAPER.

3rd Sept., 1718.

MADAM,

Tho' a stranger to your Person I take the liberty of writing to you on the behalf of your Son, Mr. Joshua Draper who was Recommended to me on my Accession to the Government by my Predecessor Mr. Harrison. I have employed him in my Counting house, and as my Private Secretary, and have found him Sober, Diligent, and faithfull. As a reward of his good behaviour I have now made him Secretary to the Hon'ble Company in this place, which is the next Post in Trust and honour to the Councill. He has now the Opportunity of Employing whatever Stock your Self or his other Relations may Design him to the best advantage, having the favour not only of my Self, but of all the rest of the Gentlemen near the head of Affairs, so that he will have the Choice of the best Voyages for the Improvement of his Stock. I assure you of my readiness to do him all the good Offices in my power. I am,

Madam,

• Your m. h. S't.

*Feb. 6th, 1718/9.*

TO MRS. MARY COLLET, SENR.

HON'D MOTHER,

. . . This is the coolest Season of the year here ; the temperature of the Air is pretty near that of a warm Summer in England, which renders it pleasant and agreeable, so that I have now my Health as perfect as I ever enjoy'd it in my Native Country, but must Expect on the return of the land winds (which hold from the beginning of May to the latter end of September) to feel the same Uneasiness I have always found here in that Season. The common opinion is that tho' the Violent Heats at that time of the Year are extremely troublesome yet they are not unwholesome.

The two years past of my Government here have been troublesome enough on Account of the civil Dissensions between our black Subjects, the ill Humour of some of the English, and the Opposition I have met with from the Country Government. But I thank God I have surmounted them all ; the first by downright dint of Authority, the 2nd by breaking those that would not bend, and the last by fair fighting, so that on all hands peace is establish'd, and I hope to pass the remaining time of my Government here with Ease to myself and Satisfaction to my Masters. Yet I often send a longing Wish towards my Native Country, where I hope to see you again in peace. In the mean time may the Blessing of Almighty God attend you and yours amongst whom are included all mine. I am with all possible duty and affection.

Hon'd Mother,

Your Obedient Son.

6th Feb., 1718/9.

TO MRS. ANN BEDWELL.

DEAR SISTER,

. . . I am at present in perfect Health and very much at Ease in my publick Capacity having surmounted severall Difficultys that have successively attended me for two years past. The only remaining trouble is the continued famine which must have carri'd off the greater part of our people, if we had not made a timely provision of grain by sea. But tho' I am so much at my Ease, the time of my Stay here seems more tedious, since I have fix'd that of my Departure than it did before. I oftener think of Home and should be glad to have it in my power to return Sooner than I propose.

I think it probable that next Letters may advise the Marriage of my Eldest Daughter. Two familys, vizt. Mr. Lock and Mr. Goddard, have been mention'd on that Occasion. I suppose the Circumstances of both may be agreeable, and if so I should be well pleased to See a daughter of mine Settled to her own liking in either of them. I have already sufficiently Expressed my Aversion to their matching with Quality ; they will best become the Rank of life in which they have been bred, and probably find more Happyness in that than in a higher Station.

I send by Capt. Lewis, Commander of the Ship King George, a small Bundle mark'd I.B. containing two patch of chints, which I desire you to accept, and two pairs of Neckcloths for my Bro'r Bedwell.

Mr. Legg, (who went home last month on the Ship Mary) pleases himself with the Expectation of my Brother's friendship. I dare assume he will Entertain you agreeably on the Affairs of this place, and you may depend on the truth of his representations. I pray God to bless you with his continued favour and protection. I am,

Dear Sister,

Your most Aff. Brother  
and Humble Servant.

6th Feb., 1718/9.

TO MESDAMES ELIZ' TH, MARY }  
 ANN AND HENRIETTA } COLLET.

DEAR DAUGHTERS,

. . . I have nothing to add to what I then wrote you but however, was willing to let you see that I do not forget you. I sent by Capt. Holden, Comm'r of the Ship Mary (which sail'd for home last month) a patch of chints and a piece of Beteelaes<sup>1</sup> for each of you. They are directed to your Uncle Bedwell, and the Capt. has promised to deliver them on there ; but you must be Cautious when you have the Chints that your own servants or Mantua maker do not Inform against you, for the penalty is Severe, and I know some ladys have been caught. I am told that Mrs. Benyon was inform'd against but made a Shift to Escape the danger.<sup>2</sup>  
 . . . I am,

Dear Daughters,  
 Your truly Affec'te Father.

6th Feb., 1718/9.

TO MRS. MARY QUINCY.

DEAR SISTER,

I have already Answer'd all the Letters I receiv'd from you the last year ; I now wait with Impatience for the Answers to mine of the year before, for tho' I have now been more than two years in this Government I have not receiv'd an Answer to any one Letter I have wrote to England in that time. I hold my purpose of leaving this place in two years more in hopes of Spending the remainder of my days in peace amongst my friends and family. I purpose a Retirement in the Country at least in the Summer Season, which would be render'd the more Agreeable by your

<sup>1</sup> Muslin.<sup>2</sup> The penalty under the Act of 1700 for " having or selling " Indani chintz was £200 and forfeiture of the goods.



Society, if that may be accommodated with the other Circumstances. How odd soever it may seem to be forming Schemes of life at such a distance of time and place, I cannot help frequently entertaining my self with such Amusements. I often form a small Scene and in it a Conversation in which you bear a part ; I have strong hopes that my Imagination will be Succeeded by reality ; in the meantime the fiction pleases.

Notwithstanding my Confidence of Seeing you again, I have in case of my Mortality here made a full provision for your self and children.

If I knew how to be Serviceable with respect to my Bro'r Quincy's Affairs I should very readily give my Assistance. I have already Empower'd my Attorneys to do something that way, if they think it will Answer the end.

I send by this Ship two ps. of Beteelas to my Bro'r Collet, one of which is for your own Use. The Capt. promises to deliver them without Trouble. That the Blessing of God may Attend you and yours is the sincere prayer of

Dear Sister,

Your most Affect. Brother  
and Humble Servant.

*4th July, 1719.*

TO MRS. MARY COLLET, SENR.

DEAR MOTHER,

I am to acknowledge the receipt of yours dated the 23rd of Dec. last. I read with pleasure the Account of your good health, and of the circumstances of my Family. I am well pleas'd with the marriage of my Daughter to Mr. Littell's son, and I heartily wish them all the blessings of the State of life they are now engag'd in.

Being oblig'd to dispatch the Ship by which this comes immediately after the arrival of our second Ship from England, I have not time to write to many persons and but very

briefly to any. I shall endeavour to make amends by the latter shipping. . . . I am,

Hon'd Mother,  
Your most Obed't Son.

TO MRS. ELIZABETH LITTELL.

DEAR DAUGHTER,

I have receiv'd your Letter by the King William, wherein you advise me of your Marriage with the son of my old friend Mr. Littell of Hackney. I entirely Approve the match, and pray God Almighty to bless you both with all the Comforts of the New State you are enter'd into. The Speedy dispatch of this Ship prevents my writing to many and obliges me to be very brief to those I do write. I design'd, like an old man and a father, to have given you at large my Opinion and advice for your Conduct in this new State of life, but am oblig'd to deferr it till the latter Ships ; in the meantime I thought this would be acceptable from

Dear Daughter,  
Your truly Aff. Father.

*4th July, 1719.*

TO MRS. ANN BEDWELL.

DEAR SISTER,

I have receiv'd your very Acceptable Letter dated the 8th of October last and containing an account of my eldest daughter's marriage to young Mr. Littell, which is very acceptable to me. She expresses to me a deep Sense of the favours she has receiv'd from her Uncle Bedwell and your Self for which I return you my gratefull acknowledgments.

— . . I must desire you to Excuse me to my Sister Ross and her daughters for not writing by this Conveyance. I shall not be able to give them any further Account of my brother Ross's affairs till the January Shipping, because the ships from Mocha, where most of his Effects lie will not be

here till next year. I promise then, God granting me life and Health they shall hear from me at large. May the Blessing of Almighty God constantly abide on you and yours and may we have a happy meeting in this world. I am,

Dear Sister,

Your most Aff'te Brother,  
and Humble Serv't.

4<sup>th</sup> July, 1719.

TO MR. JOHN LITTELL.

DEAR SIR,

I have receiv'd your very Acceptable Letter dated the 23rd Sept. last, and with pleasure read the account you give me of the Additional tye to our former friendship, by the Near Alliance of our Familys, your Son Mr. George Sawbridge Littell having married my daughter Elizabeth. I pray God Almighty to bless them both in Soul and body, and to bestow on them all the comforts of their new Relation, which I have great reason to hope for from the Account I have of the Religious disposition, good Naturall temper and prudence of both.

. . . God granting life and Health, you and they shall hear more fully from me by the January Shipping. In the mean time I am,

Dear Sir,

Your truly Aff. Brother,  
and Very Humble Ser't.

4<sup>th</sup> July, 1719.

TO MR. GEORGE SAWBRIDGE LITTELL.

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 20th of Sept. last arriv'd here the 10th ulto. and that of the 7th of January last came to hand the 2nd Instant. Your first gives me an account of your marriage to my eldest daughter with the consent of the Gentlemen

to whose care I had entrusted her, as well as of my very good Friend, your own Father, which I entirely approve having heard a very agreeable Character of your Self. I pray God Almighty to bless you together in Soul and body and to bestow on you all the Comforts of your new Relation. I purpos'd to have wrotè you a joint Letter, and under the privilege of a father's character to have given you both the best advice I could for your Mutuall Conduct towards each other, but I must referr that to the January Shipping. . . .

Your 2nd Letter recommends Mr. Fowler to my Care, who is come hither on the Ship Marlboro'. It is so late in the year that all our Country Shipping are dispatch'd, and by reason of a two years' famine our Trade is so much lessen'd that Severall Gentlemen who have been Employ'd in our service now lye idle. I have supply'd him with some Money for his present Subsistence, and when an Opportunity offers shall find some Employment for him. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your Most Aff. Father.

*4th July, 1719.*

TO MR. JOHN QUINCY.

DEAR BROTHER,

. . . Yours dated the 12th of Oct. last came to hand the 10th ulto. and brought me a particular account of your Affairs. Part of the Trouble you have undergone had been prevented if you had open'd the Case to me more early ; I have given such orders to my Attorneys, that I believe you will for the future be made Easy. I recommend to you a thorough openness of your Affairs with my brother Sam ; and I assure you that I do make the needfull allowances for all that is past, and shall heartily rejoyce in your personall happiness as well as that of your family, and am ready to do my part towards it. I am,

Your Affec'te Brother,  
and Humble Serv't.

4<sup>th</sup> July, 1719.

TO MR. JOHN TRAVERS.

DEAR SIR,

As to the West Coast, Bencoolen is now no more, the English being cutt off by the Natives. Those that Escap'd with Life are got to Negapatam in their way hither and expected in a few days. By this ship a particular account of that affair will be transmitted to the Company with a List of the Living and dead. I conclude with my prayers to Almighty God for his blessing on you and yours, and the Assurance that I am with great Sincerity,

Dear Sir,

Your Affec'te Friend

and Humble Serv't.

4<sup>th</sup> July, 1719.

TO MR. NATHANIEL TORRIANO.

SIR,

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter from Canton dated the 26<sup>th</sup> of November last which was deliver'd me by your Son the 5<sup>th</sup> of March following. Besides the former acquaintance between you and my self your Son's personall Merit has recommended him to my favour. I have entertain'd him a Factor here in the Hon. Company's Service on condition they Approve it, because it is something out of the usuall Road. His Qualifications in the Languages <sup>1</sup> is of great use to me and his behaviour is such as will recommend him to all. He is placed under the Warehouse holder so that he now lives in Mr. Elwick's family. I heartily wish you continued Health and Success in all your Affairs and am,

Sir,

Your Very Humble Serv't.

<sup>1</sup> Particularly Portuguese. He was appointed Portuguese translator.

2nd Oct., 1719.

TO THE REVD. MR. NATH. HODGES.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have receiv'd your Welcome Letter dated the 12th of Dec. last with a short one of the 26th of the same month advising of the packet sent by Capt. Beesly which is come to hand. I have now only time to promise you a full answer by the latter Shipping and to send this in the mean time to Excuse me from the Suspicion of neglect. If a short Epistle would have Serv'd, then I might have done it now, but I purpose to indulge myself in the pleasure of talking at our old rate. May the blessing of God be on you and yours.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your truly Affec'te Friend  
and Humble Serv't.

## CONCLUSION

Collet sailed homewards from Madras on January 8th, 1720. This was a year earlier than he had originally designed ; but he had found the hot season of 1719 peculiarly trying, and this was probably the chief reason for hastening his return. Another reason doubtless lay in the political troubles which had followed the grant of Farrukh-siyar. The Governor had been obliged to use force to secure the execution of the grant, and probably felt that it would be expedient to lay a full account of these transactions before the court of directors. Family reasons, especially his desire to rejoin his daughters, must have drawn him strongly in the same direction. Possibly for reasons of health, possibly because of the change of policy indicated by the repeal of the Schism Act, he did not seek election to the House of Commons. In 1722 he was settled with his daughters, Mary and Henrietta, at Hertford Castle ; and there, after a lingering illness, he died on June 13th, 1725. He was buried at Bunhill Fields, where his monument still stands. On one side is his coat of arms, that of Colet of Wendover, with the motto "*Abjectio ante honorem*" ; on the other an epitaph written by himself :

" Here lyes Joseph Collet Esq., late of Hertford Castle, some time President and Governor of Fort St. George in East India ; who lived and died in the firm belief of a Resurrection to an Happy Immortality, the Gift of the One only Supreme God the Father, by the Ministration of his Son Jesus Christ."

## DESCENDANTS

### JOSEPH COLLET'S CHILDREN WERE :

1. John, born 1696, died 1716-17 ; unmarried.
2. Elizabeth, born 9 April 1699 ; married in 1718 George Sawbridge Littell, citizen and iron merchant of London ; and of Stoke, Co. Suffolk. She died in 1766 and was buried in Bunhill Fields. They had offspring :
  - 2a. Rebecca, who died 1779 ; unmarried.
  - 2b. Elizabeth, who married Sir Robert Clarke of Freckenham, Co. Suffolk, Bart. She died a widow in 1797. Their only child, Sir John Clarke, Bart., predeceased her in his 19th year in 1782. They were all buried in Bunhill Fields.
3. Mary born 23 Jan. 1702 ; married in 1728 Richard Warren of Marden, Herts, Esq. She died 28 Dec. 1733, leaving two sons :
  - 3a. Arthur Warren, who married and was alive in 1779.
  - 3b. Collet Warren.

She was buried in Tewin Church, where a tablet with inscription was erected by her husband.
4. Ann, born Nov. 1703 ; married Edward Leeds, Esq., of the Inner Temple and later Serjeant-at-law (1742) and King's Serjeant (1748), of Croxton, Cambs. She died in 1757. They had issue :
  - 4a. Anne, who married in 1754 John Barnardiston, solicitor, of Lincoln's Inn. Their son Nathaniel Barnardiston, the only male of the name, built "The Ryes," Sudbury, Suffolk (the house is actually in Co. Essex), where the family has since lived. Direct male descendants now living are Geoffry Barnardiston, Esq., his son Nathaniel Montagu



and his only surviving brother Lt.-Colonel  
Ernald Barnardiston, D.S.O.

- 4*b*. Henrietta, who married John Howard, the prison reformer, in 1753. She died after the birth of a son, John Howard, who died unmarried. Her portrait is given in Edgar Gibson's *Life of John Howard*.
- 4*c*. Edward Leeds, a Master in Chancery, who died *s.p.* in 1803.
- 4*d*. Joseph Leeds, whose son George became the first baronet in 1812, Sir Reginald Leeds, sixth baronet, being his direct descendant.
- 5. Henrietta, born 6 Feb. 1705, who married William Blackford, Esq., of the Middle Temple and of Holnycote Court, Selworthy, Co. Somerset, on 17 Aug. 1726, at Croxton. She died after the birth of her first child on 13 Sept. 1727. William Blackford (senior) died in 1728; his son, Henrietta's husband, his only child, died in 1731-2. Their daughter Henrietta Blackford died in Dec. 1733. They were buried in Selworthy Church, where is a tablet erected to their memory.



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## I. FAMILY HISTORY

### (a) *Henry Collet of Stepney and the Gilsons*

JOSEPH COLLET, born in 1673, was the eldest surviving child of John Collet, merchant in the City of London. We are first introduced to him in the will of his grandfather Henry Collet (born 1618), who died at Ratcliff, Stepney, in 1676. Henry bequeathed £100 apiece to his three grandchildren John, Joseph and Sarah. John and Sarah died in infancy, and probably others died also, for there is a gap of nine years between Joseph and his brother Samuel, who, with another John and a sister Mary, were living when their father died in 1698, and who were all three corresponding with Joseph when he went to Bencoolen.

Just before the death of his father, John Collet had applied for marriage licences for his only surviving brother Lancelot and sister Mary, and the marriages had taken place before Henry's will was drawn up. Mary, 20 years of age, had received her dowry on her marriage to James Pope, merchant, of St. Mary Abchurch, aged 22. Lancelot, aged 24, had been started in business as a "coat seller" on his marriage to Elizabeth, aged 22, daughter of Henry Blanchard, clothier. The brother and sister are therefore merely given £10 apiece in their father's will.

Henry Collet of Stepney was the fourth in succession to have some civic, if not actual, connection with the iron trade. The first Henry was admitted to the freedom of the Ironmongers Company of the City of London in 1569-70, after an apprenticeship to John Carre of Essex from 1562, although for some years during that period he had served as a "head burgess" or "jurat" on the Maldon Town Council and was described as a glover. The second Henry, born in 1569-70, is known to have come to Canterbury when he was over 40, and to have taken over from the widow of its previous owner a business as ironmonger in Angel Lane, becoming in 1614 a "freeman cutler" of Canterbury by "redemption," i.e. payment. His son, the third Henry,

came with him, but did not become a freeman until 1631, by redemption, and then only for the purpose of taking his eldest son, the fourth Henry (later on of Stepney), as apprentice. Nothing in the will of Henry of Stepney or in the history of his sons had ever suggested even a temporary settlement at Canterbury. In the course of researches in the records of the City of London Common Council proceedings it was found that in 1689-90 John Collet claimed his right to be admitted to the freedom of the City on the ground that before his birth his father Henry had been admitted as a "citizen and white baker"; the Company of Bakers confirmed his claim, but he desired to be granted citizenship in the Company of Glovers, a request which needed and obtained the sanction of the Common Council. Inquiries brought out the fact that in 1632 Henry had been simultaneously apprenticed to Francis Downes, citizen and baker of London, and to his father Henry Collet, freeman cutler of Canterbury, and was admitted as freeman baker of London in 1639 and freeman cutler of Canterbury a few months later, in 1640.

As there is no reason for believing that John Collet had anything to do with the glove trade, the question arises as to why he chose the Glovers Company. No records of this company for the 16th century exist, and we can only guess that John chose it because he knew that Richard Collet, who appears in Maldon for the first time in Edward VI's reign and died there in 1557, had been a freeman of that Company.

Again, why was the fourth Henry apprenticed to a "white baker"? Because the first Henry had married Barbary Gilson in 1567 (losing her in 1571), and these Gilsons specialised as bakers in Sudbury, Colchester and Ballingdon, not infrequently sending a son to study divinity at Cambridge and take Orders in the Church. One of these, Thomas Gilson, M.A., of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, born at Sudbury and trained in the Free School at Dedham in Essex, was some years younger than Henry Collet of Stepney, and some years older than Henry's son John. He went as a sizar to Emmanuel in 1645, migrated to Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1648, becoming Fellow of Corpus Christi in 1649. He became vicar of Little Baddow in 1657 and was "silenced"

in 1662. He was invited to be pastor of a dissenting congregation in Ratcliff, Stepney, where he died in 1680. It was probably Henry Collet, living at Ratcliff hamlet, who, with other friends, secured him the invitation. Joseph was only 7 years old when Gilson died, but there was probably a close intimacy between John and his pastor, and the next generation were connected in marriage and friendship with several families in the Colchester and Sudbury neighbourhood, notably the Littells and Grays.

(b) *Lancelot Harrison of Smeeth and the Brownes of Betchworth*

Henry Collet of Stepney almost immediately on coming of age married Elizabeth Harrison, daughter of Lancelot Harrison of Smeeth, rector of Orlestone, Co. Kent. In his will written and proved in 1641 this Lancelot Harrison left "to my daughter Elizabeth who lately married Henry Collet a book in my study called *The Christian Warfare*." To his son Edward he left £35 and all his Latin books and his "desk with the frame it stands upon"; to his son Lancelot £35 when 21; daughter Priscilla £35 at marriage or when 18; son Hugh £35 when 21; son John £35 when 21; daughter Katharine £35 at marriage or when 18; maid-servant Susan Smithson 5s. Then "to my beloved wife Katharine Harrison the profits of my house and lands in occupation of Robert Hunt for life and then to my son Edward, he to pay to my children Lancelot £20, Priscilla £20, Hugh £20, John £20, Katharine £20." His wife Katharine was residuary legatee and sole executrix and proved the will in August 1641.

In the same year, after the death of Lancelot Harrison, Sir Edward Scott of Scott's Hall, Smeeth, made his will (proved in January 1646), and bequeathed "to Edward Harrison clarke, who lives now in my house £10. To Lancelot Harrison brother of the said Edward £10." His wife Dame Marie Scott, his son Edward Scott and two grandchildren Richard Browne and Margaret Browne are the principal legatees.

In 1627 Elizabeth Honeywood, spinster, refers in her will

to her aunt Anne Lady Scott and her cousin Lancelot Harrison. In 1616 Sir John Scott of Scott's Hall in Smeeth made his will and gave to Lancelot Harrison "now curate of Smeeth £5." In 1617 his widow Katharine Scott of Nettlestead, Co. Kent, bequeathed to her "sister Culpepper, Mr. Egerton, Mr. Nichols, Mr. Harrison of Smeeth and his wife" 40s. apiece. To Mr. Lancelot Harrison "if at my death he be (as now) with me" £4 "besides his quarters commoditie as is above expressed."

We do not know whether the Mr. Harrison of Smeeth was a brother or the father of Lancelot. He was probably the former, for an Edward Harrison, B.A. Cantab., from Jesus 1603-4, M.A. 1607 and B.D. 1614, was ordained priest in 1607, and was probably the Edward Harrison who was rector of Orleston from 1613 to 1626, when he was succeeded by our Lancelot.

From the *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, supplemented with facts from the *Liber Institutionum*, we obtain Lancelot's own record. He matriculated as a sizar from Jesus in 1611; B.A. (1613-14) and M.A. in 1617. In February 1615 he became vicar of Betchworth, Co. Surrey, and seems to have held that living until 1630, although, as we have seen, residing with one or other of the Scotts until 1619. He became rector of Byrcholt in 1623 and of Orleston in 1626, holding both offices until his death in 1641. The emoluments (if we have understood the returns correctly) were assessed at £7 18s. 11d. at Betchworth, £2 10s. at Byrcholt and £4 15s. 9d. at Orleston. Residence with or near the Scotts as chaplain may have been a valuable part of his incomings.

All these facts (and the knowledge that a grandson of his was called Sedgwick Harrison) lead us from Orleston *via* Betchworth, the stronghold of the Browne knights, to the City of London, where in 1548 Lancelot Harrison, citizen and grocer, married Thomasine Browne as his second wife, his first being Alice Bodley, who left a son Ellys. His brother-in-law Francis Bodley married Mary, daughter of Humfry Collet, citizen and bowyer of London, and Member of Parliament for Southwark, and also for Bletchingley, in the reign of Mary Tudor. He was the great-grandfather of Mary Collet of Little Gidding. Francis Bodley died in

1566, and his widow married Thomas Brend of West Moulsey. Their son Nicholas Brend, grandson of Humfry Collet, died in 1601, and in his will desired that certain property should be sold by his "loving friends Sir Mathew Browne of the Castle of West Betchworth, Co. Surrey, knt and John Bodley of Stretham Co. Surrey gent" for the benefit of his three daughters up to £1,000 and the remainder for his wife and son equally.

In the Feet of Fines of the Tudor Period for Sedbergh appear the names of James Sigeswicke, plaintiff, and Lancelot Harrison, gent., deforciant in connection with a messuage and lands in Sedbergh and elsewhere, in 1561. There are other references to Sedbergh legal matters in Chancery proceedings which show that this Harrison was the citizen and grocer of London. He died intestate and administration was granted to his widow Thomasine. The Harrisons of Smeeth must have been either his grandsons or his great-grandsons.

Humfry Collet's son, Thomas Collet, had married a daughter of John Heath of London and Keyper, Co. Durham. In 1554 he had bought from Christopher Darrell his half share of the manor and park of Iwood, or Ewood, in Newdigate, near Betchworth. George Darrell sold the remainder to Anthony Pelham, who was succeeded by his son Herbert Pelham. Collet conveyed his share in 1567 to John Heath, who in 1574 conveyed it back to Christopher Darrell and Sir Thomas Browne; later on Christopher bought back George Darrell's from Herbert Pelham. Now this Iwood, about 6 miles S.E. of Dorking, was the seat of an important iron forge or furnace, and the iron trade was being developed there by the Heaths and Collets, and the reason why they conveyed the property back to Darrell together with Sir Thomas Browne was that Elizabeth, in response to petitions from Surrey, Kent and Sussex complaining that the demands of the ironmasters for fuel were making serious inroads on the forests, was withdrawing all licences granted and refusing new ones, exempting the Darrells because they claimed to have planted woods for the express purpose of iron-smelting instead of drawing on existing supplies. Of course, as merchants the Heaths and



Peter Collet (his brother Thomas being dead) continued to help on the development of the iron trade from Newdigate, especially in Kent, and here we find the reason for various Collets, whose avocations hitherto were connected with wool and hides, turning to ironmongery and blacksmithy from about 1560 to 1660.

And incidentally we understand how Henry Collet the fourth, just out of his apprenticeship to iron and wheat trades and having one foot in Canterbury and the other in London, met and married Elizabeth Harrison living at Smeeth.

(c) *Edward Harrison and the Tulls*

As all Elizabeth's brothers except Edward were under 21 at their father's death and Hugh was the fifth of the seven children, he cannot have been the Hugh Harrison to whom Sir Edward Scott gave the vacant rectory of Byrcholt. We need not follow the fortunes of the three younger brothers, for future events no doubt separated them entirely from their eldest sister. The eldest brother Edward, having matriculated at Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1634, and migrated to St. John's in 1635, where he took his B.A. in 1637-8, went on to Hart Hall, Oxford, taking his M.A. in 1640. He was ordained and had been vicar of Kensworth, Co. Herts, for some time when in 1645 he declared himself a Baptist. He was accused after the Restoration of having retained the living; he replied that he had resigned the living and had remained at Kensworth. He became a famous preacher, and many people went to Kensworth on purpose to hear him, John Bunyan among them.

In 1649 Edward Harrison dealt faithfully with his own party in a pamphlet (to be found in the British Museum) entitled *Plain Dealing. The Countryman's doleful Complaint and faithful Watchword, to the Statesmen of the Times whether in the Parliament or Army, wherein is set down the Rise, Nature and Species of Right Government with the Corruption thereof in former and this our Generation and this present time.*

In 1658, Robert Bowes, of the City of Westminster, citizen and merchant taylor of London makes his wife

Frances and his brother in Christ, Samuel Tull, executors of his will ; and he bequeaths money to Edward Harrison, Sam. Tull, John Spilsbury, Dan King and Hanzard Knowles in trust " for the church of Christ whereof I am now a member." It was this Samuel Tull who was afterwards the father of a Nathaniel Tull who was hurt because Joseph Collet would not let him join him in India. Nat's mother was Frances Bowes.

From 1662 Edward Harrison was minister to a congregation meeting in his own house in Petty France, Westminster. In 1672 he was licensed to be so. In 1682, with five ministers as colleagues and 600 brethren, he was responsible for meetings in three houses. The chief of these was his own house in Petty France, from which he was excluded in 1683 during a reactionary crusade against Nonconformists. He died intestate in 1689. A son Thomas and his son Thomas Harrison both entered the Baptist ministry, but the latter after many years' service was ordained in the Church of England in 1729 and was inducted to the vicarage of Radcliffe-on-the-Wreke, Leics.

Samuel Tull died in 1677 leaving a widow and seven children, including Nat. His wife and Edward Greene were executors.

Although I have discovered no blood relationship with any Tull, the name appears like a *leitmotiv* wherever these Collets and their cousins appear from the early 16th century until at last, in the 18th century, one of Joseph Collet's nieces (on his wife's side) appears to have married a Tull, for his grand-daughter, Rebecca Littell, makes her three "cousins" *nées* Tull, her residuary legatees. Wherever found, these Tulls all sprang from a Berkshire family of yeomen engaged in the cloth trade and of foreign origin.

(d) *John Collet, citizen and glover, and Nicholas Holloway*

Directories in the 17th century are very rare, but in 1677 was published *The little London Directory : a collection of the Merchants living in and about the City of London*, with an additional list of "the goldsmiths who keep running cash." Only two Collets appear in this little book—Thomas, of

Thames Street, whom we know as the "citizen and vintner" who was deputy for the Bridge Ward to the Common Council and whose memorial tablet attracts much attention in the Church of St. Magnus the Martyr; and our own John who follows "Nich. Holloway in Nicholas's Lane" with "and Mr. Collet in Company." Mr. Holloway was the father of "Mrs. Mary Collet," Joseph's "honoured mother." A Samuel Heron of African House is in the list and was probably connected with Joseph's "kinsman" John Heron. There is a Mr. Lock of St. Bartholomew Close, who must have been father or grandfather of the Joshua Lock of the same address, who was one of Joseph Collet's sureties in £500 apiece when he went to Bencoolen, and was the father or brother-in-law of Edward Harrison, citizen and goldsmith and first cousin of Joseph Collet. James Pope is there also, in business on his own account although only 23.

Merchants in those days generally started their training as apprentices in some City warehouse or in some merchant's office abroad. After the Restoration many Nonconformists—and before it many Royalists—found Holland a convenient place in which to acquire good commercial training and a useful knowledge of languages. In 1624 a certain Christopher Holloway and his nephew Abraham Holloway received permits to go to Leiden to join the boy's father, Michael Holloway, then resident there with his children. Michael and Christopher were brothers of Robert Holloway who in his will, in 1624, called himself citizen and merchant taylor of London and left money to be distributed among the poor of Plympton (?) and Collumpton in Co. Devon by William Holloway then living at Collumpton. He left £100 to his brother Michael, then living near the town of Layden in Holland, and 3s. 4d. apiece to Michael's four children; and to his nephew Abraham, in addition, £5 for the placing of him as apprentice and £6 13s. 4d. to be given to him at the end of his apprenticeship.

About 1637-60 a small group of English clothworkers and drapers suddenly appear in the marriage and baptismal registers of Leiden arriving from Sedan and Calais, and these Colets. KOLETHS (eventually in the 18th century Colets again)

look very much as though they might be collaterals of Henry Collet of Stepney whom we have failed to find in England.

When we find that Nicholas Holloway described himself as "citizen and clothworker of London," and also that he cannot be connected in any way with any of the other numerous Holloways of whom we have records at probate offices, it seems very probable that it is to Holland we should look to find the history of John Collet's business life and the earlier part of his son Joseph's. We know from these letters that Joseph's principal creditors were Larwoods of Amsterdam, and that when looking forward with pleasurable anticipation to martyrdom for his religious views he meditated making his home in Holland.

In a will dated 1687, and proved in 1690, George White, citizen and dyer of London, bequeathed to "his dear and well beloved uncle Nicholas Holloway, citizen and clothworker of London and his loving cousin John Collet son-in-law of the said uncle and their heirs and assigns for ever" (subject to certain life interests of his wife Sarah and sister Jane) his "ten acres of Marsh Land near unto Bow in Counties Middlesex and Essex," which he purchased of Mr. Richard Tull. These two were also his residuary legatees and executors. He left small legacies of £20 to his kinswoman Eleanor Coker, daughter of his uncle William Coker, £15 to his kinswoman Margaret Beale and to his servant Henry Parker and 20s. apiece for a ring to his uncle William Coker, and kinsmen Robert White, Bernard White and Henry Pinhorne; to the two children of his servant Henry Parker £15 to be paid to their father for their education.

Not long afterwards, in March 1693, Nicholas Holloway, citizen and clothworker of the parish of St. Martin Orgars, bequeathed all his interest in these ten acres of land to "my son-in-law John Collet and my daughter his wife Mary Collet," with remainder to his grandson Joseph Collet. Also to "their present four children Joseph, Samuel, John and Mary" £100 apiece "when 21," the interest in the meantime to their parents for their education. To his cousin Henry Pinhorne £4. His son-in-law was his sole executor.

As Joseph Collet at his marriage in 1694 was described as

of St. Martin Orgars we are justified in assuming that he was in partnership with his father in business until the death of the latter. As soon as his youngest brother was old enough he must have taken him under his own eye, for when Joseph was ruined this young man John, certainly not more than 24 years of age, went out to Persia as a merchant on his own, and correspondents from Persia informed Joseph of his well-being until the news came of his death.

From the will of Edward Harrison's second son Lancelot (proved in 1688), when Joseph Collet was about 15, we find how the family stood. Katharine Harrison had married John Peck and had two children John and Elizabeth Peck. John Collet's sister Mary Pope and James Pope had two children, James and Elizabeth. The testator, who describes himself as merchant of St. Giles, Cripplegate, mentions all his brothers and sisters and their spouses, and an aunt Jane Greene and an uncle Thomas Greene. He leaves £5 for the building of a place for the worship of God or for poor ministers at 20s. apiece. He has a cousin Hephzibah White. His brother Thomas Harrison is his sole executor and residuary legatee, and his brother Edward and cousin John Collet are to be overseers of his will. Dr. Nehemiah Cox and Mr. William Collins are remembered. But there is no reference to his aunt Priscilla or his uncle Lancelot Harrison, M.D. (1661) and F.R.C.P., nor to his uncles Hugh and John.

It seems certain that Edward Harrison's nonconformity cut him and his family off from their Harrison relations, and that his sons especially attached themselves to little Henry Collet, whose father Lancelot died in 1682, after six years of marriage, and who was executor and residuary legatee of Edward Harrison (died 1736), the grandson of the Baptist minister. Henry was apprenticed to Samuel Bailey, citizen and dyer. When he died in 1738 (worth £20,000 according to the *Gentleman's Magazine*) he had been for many years "a cashier of the Bank of England and chief clerk for managing affairs between the Bank and Exchequer."

Henry Collet of Stepney in 1766 had bequeathed a certain £60 (due to him from his cousin Ruth Palmer, "now Beauchamp") to the children of his "sister-in-law Elizabeth

Collet," Elizabeth, Mary and Henry, £20 to go to Henry for his apprenticeship. In 1678 this Henry was apprenticed to Isaac Hamblin, citizen and dyer, and admitted to the freedom in 1686. We do not know the name of his father or whether his mother was a widow ; she was probably his father's second wife. From statements in a "Town Deposition" he is mentioned as having been in partnership with Abraham Shard, and his cousin Henry Collet of the Bank of England left most of his money in 1738 to Mrs. Sarah Eaton (daughter of Dr. Joseph Eaton), then living at Sir Abraham Shard's. Henry had married Elinor, widow of Robert Howard, in 1716, and her daughter Mary Howard had married Sir Abraham.

(e) *The Dyeworks at Bow*

It is evident that all these families, White, Tull, Collet and others, were putting their money and business talents into the development of the dyeing industry. In 1630 a Dutch chemist Drebbel, had discovered the method of dyeing a brilliant scarlet, on wool by means of cochineal and tin solutions. "The secret was soon communicated to other dyers, and the new scarlet was dyed as a speciality at the Gobelin dyeworks in Paris, and some time later at a dyeworks in Bow, near London" (*Encyc. Brit.*).

George White had purchased his ten acres of marsh land in Bow from Richard Tull, "gentleman." In 1675 Thomas Peck, citizen and dyer, about 24, and Dorothy Tull, about 18, with consent of her guardian Jonas Sibley, corn chandler, her parents being dead, were married at Stepney parish church. In 1738 we find in the London Directory John Peck, scarlet dyer, at Red Lyon Street, Spittal Fields.

In 1696 John Collet, then living at Hoxton Square, Shoreditch, made his will (proved in 1698): "My will is that the coppers and other utensils of my dye-house at Stratford-le-Bow Co. Midx, now in the occupation of Henry Parker, be not reckoned with the residue of my personal estate but that they descend together with my copyhold estate according to the custom of the manor. And whereas my wife nor any of my children will be damnified thereby, except my daughter Mary, in consideration thereof I shall

make her a recompense out of my freehold estate. As to the residue of my personal estate my will is that my wife have her third part together with the furniture of a widow's chamber, that a second third part be equally divided between my three youngest children, Samuel, John and Mary, my eldest son Joseph having already received his portion, and for my legatory third I dispose thereof, first—To my eldest son Joseph and his wife £10 each for mourning. To my grandson John Collet my sealed ring. The whole remainder of my legatory third I give equally to my three youngest children, Samuel, John and Mary, but I will that their mother have the interest thereof during their minority towards their education.

“To my wife Mary Collet my ten acres of marsh-land in Hackney and Ham Levells in Middx and Essex, now in the occupation of Henry Parker and . . . Collet, during her life. I give the reversion and inheritance of the said ten acres to my eldest son Joseph Collet and his heirs for ever he paying unto his sister, my daughter Mary Collet £100 at his mother's death when the land comes into his possession.” The witnesses were Thomas Langbridge, Richard Hall and William Highmore. The seal used bore a fancy device. The will was proved by his widow Mary, the sole executrix.

The dyeworks at Bow was in the occupation of George White's former servant and (probably) Henry Collet, the nephew of Henry of Stepney.

#### (f) *Friends and Nephews*

In their own home and on Sundays elsewhere Joseph Collet and his brothers would be in constant intercourse with their Baptist relatives and friends. But although on the negative side (disapproval of infant baptism) their father was in agreement with this group, two books of his still preserved show that he had already arrived at the anti-trinitarian views for which the Baptist George Wightman had been burnt at Smithfield in 1612, and for which the Baptist societies were busily occupied in expelling members. Toland and Firmin and their works were even more objectionable to orthodox Nonconformists than to Episcopalians.

Moreover, it seems very likely that John Collet and his mother, Elizabeth, were in friendly touch with her brother Dr. Lancelot Harrison, for John's children are found in intimate relations with the relatives of medical men, notably of Dr. Nathaniel Hodges, whose *Loimologia* was translated by Dr. John Quincy, Joseph's brother-in-law. John Collet and his sons mixed easily with friends of all denominations, and it is in the minutes of St. John's Church, Hackney, that we find traces of many of Joseph's particular friends, although including none of the young men who for a short time were ministers and diverted from that career by the operation of the Schism Act.

*E.g.* 1690. "Francis Tyssen Esq. for 20 guineas to have the sole use of him and his Family during their abode in this parish that pew in the middle Isle that formerly did belong to Esquire Rowe's family. Also ordered that Mr. Benjamin Morland school-master for £10 etc. all that gallery formerly built at the charge of Capt. Salmon."

1708. John Littell signs as vestryman.

1719. Daniel Dolins to have Lady Wills' pew when she removes out of the parish. In 1727 Sir Daniel Dolins, kt. deceased.

1720. Rev. Mr. Peter Newcome, vicar. Gentlemen of the Vestry include Daniel Dolins, Esq., John Tyssen, Esq., John Wallis, Esq., Jacob Sawbridge, Esq., Mr. William Wilkinson, Mr. Alud Denne; and in 1727 John Eden Littell, Esq., Mr. Ed. Sanderson, Mr. Alud Denne (deceased 1732). Henry Norris, Esq., Mr. Jonathan Collier, Matthew Howard, Esq., Mr. Gilbert Page, Mr. Richardson.

[Joseph Collet's eldest daughter married George Sawbridge Littell, citizen and iron merchant.]

In 1704 Nicholas Morse was a churchwarden.

Joseph Collet refers with pride to his mathematical education proving useful to him when he took charge of the *Jane* on his way to Madras. He was proposed as a Fellow of the Royal Society, and was informed of his election by Samuel Morland, brother of Benjamin Morland the school-master, whose young gentlemen occupied the gallery in St. John's Church, Hackney. They were both mathematicians, and it is hardly doubtful that this was the school at



which Joseph had been educated and had formed several friendships.

In later years John's younger son and his family were kept informed about the doings of their cousins the Popes by a Mr. Emlyn. This connection throws light on John Collet's probable position in religious politics. "The term 'Unitarian' first emerges in 1682 and appears in the title of the *Brief History* (1687). It was construed in a broad sense to cover all who, with whatever differences, held the unipersonality of the Divine Being. Firmin had later a project of Unitarian societies 'within the Church'; the first preacher to describe himself as Unitarian was Thomas Emlyn (1663-1741) who gathered a London congregation in 1705" (*Encyc. Brit.*). Like others holding such views, John Collet left his sons to discover and formulate their religious beliefs for themselves.

In 1676 Mr. Kentish (Presbyterian) held a "meeting" every Monday evening in Mr. John Collet's house in Long Lane, Southwark. As Henry of Stepney was then living at Ratcliff and Nicholas Holloway at Shoreditch, and John himself was living at Hoxton Square when he made his will, no connection was seen between them. But in 1728 Joseph Collet's "honoured mother died," and in that year an aged Mrs. Collet was brought from Long Lane to Bunhill Fields.

Only one item of gossip comes down to us about this generation. John "had a very sweet temper and Aunt Quincy took after him. Our father [Samuel Collet] took after our grandmother."

This Samuel (who was greatly beloved by his children notwithstanding this cryptic remark) was apprenticed on his father's death, at the age of 16, to John Hibbert. If this Hibbert was not an ancestor of the Hibbert whose name is now associated with the comparative study of the origins of religions, the coincidence of the similar tastes of his apprentice may be noted.

His two elder sons, so solemnly adopted by their uncle Joseph and placed under their father's guardianship, left no descendants. The eldest, John Collet, chose medicine as his profession, went to Cambridge (which refused the degree

to Nonconformists but gave them education) and then to Leyden, where he studied for three years and obtained his M.D. on a thesis now in the British Museum. He declined the assistance offered him by his Leeds cousins to establish a fashionable practice in London; he did not think it "right to aspire to high places in this world or the next," and he believed he could make himself very useful in the Newbury district which he had selected. He never regretted his choice.

His brother Joseph was trained to be a merchant, several years of his apprenticeship being spent in Sweden, where he bought a harpsichord and had sent to him from England Handel's new volume of lessons. He was a successful merchant in London. He married three times but left no children.

The third and youngest son Samuel left descendants. His eldest daughter Sarah Collet married William, son of John Barker,<sup>1</sup> M.D., F.R.C.P., and Mary, daughter of John Bakewell, apothecary, of King Street, Cheapside, and granddaughter of Archdale Palmer of Wanlip, M.P. for Leicestershire; her sister Sophia married Charles, son of George Dobson.

Sarah Collet's daughter, Elizabeth Barker, married Sophia Collet's son, John Dobson, Mediterranean merchant.

Of their children :

1. Collet Dobson Collet assumed the surname of his two grandmothers. Of his five children his daughters Caroline Mary, Clara Elizabeth, Edith Sophia, and his younger son Harold Collet survive (October 1933). His elder son, the late Sir Wilfred Collet, K.C.M.G., Governor of British Honduras (1913-17) and of British Guiana (1917-23), left two sons, viz. Howard Barker Collet, B.V.Sc. (Toronto), M.R.C.V.S. (Eng.), and Wilfred Robert Collet, B.A. (Lond.), Mus.Bac. (Cantab.).
2. Charles Dobson, Anglican priest, went to Tasmania

<sup>1</sup> See biographical notice in *D.N.B.* and also the notice of his grandson, Captain Collet Barker, who died unmarried.

as chaplain to the prisoners, became Vicar of Buckland, and left descendants.

3. Edward Dobson, civil engineer and architect, went to New Zealand and became Provincial Engineer of Canterbury Province. He left many descendants, of whom the eldest living, Sir Arthur Dobson (born 1841), was knighted in 1931 for services to New Zealand.
4. Alfred Dobson, architect and surveyor, went to New Zealand, and left descendants.
5. Ellen, as Sister Mary Ellen, joined an Anglican sisterhood.
6. Sophia Dobson Collet devoted herself to literary work on behalf of the Brahmo Samaj of India.

## II. TRADITION OF DESCENT FROM ROBERT COLET OF WENDOVER

(a) *John Colet, Citizen and Mercer of London, St. Albans,  
Wood Street (died 1461)*

In the 17th century there were several Collets earning their living in the City of London and its environs in Surrey, Middlesex, Kent and Essex. Some of these were single members of families permanently settled in Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Oxon and Berkshire, who had served an apprenticeship in the City and intended to go back and carry on business in their own county or neighbourhood. Another set were migrants from various counties brought in by the demand for builders and carpenters for the rebuilding of the City after the Fire and the development of such districts as Chelsea and Kensington. But there were certain families who regarded themselves as essentially Londoners wherever they might be temporarily employed and as being descended from the Robert Colet of Wendover whose son John, citizen and mercer, died in 1461, and whose son Thomas was the ancestor of the Collets of Wendover and the Collets of Grundisburgh. His son, Sir Henry Colet, left only one surviving child, Dean Colet, and had no descendants. There were others belonging to a Kentish family descended from a John Colet of Shorne and carrying on business in London as citizens and in Kent, who claimed to belong to the same family as this Robert Colet, tracing their common ancestor farther back. This family, all of them owning a yeoman's measure of land, could (if they had chosen) easily prove their relationship to the John Colet who (with Thomas Barbour) received the "Letter of Attorney by Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, lord of Tunbrigge and Caurs to deliver seisin to Richard Vernon, kt, Thomas Arblaster esquire and John Harker of his manors of Tonbrigge, Hilden, South Hadelow and Dorcheherst [28 April, 8 Henry VI]." As Henry Colet's brother-in-law married secondly the daughter of Humphrey Stafford, Duke of

Buckingham, it is very possible that Robert of Wendover and John of Shorne were, if not brothers, collaterals.

But there were certain families who knew themselves to be related to each other and claimed to be descended from a brother of Sir Henry Colet without any title deeds to prove their claim ; for the very good reason that this brother John bequeathed no land to his younger children and only vaguely described the lands he left to the eldest. For the benefit of his descendants a summary of his will is given.

P.C.C. 23 Stokton

John Colett citizen and merc. of London

Will dat. 5 May 1461, I Edw. IV. Soul to almighty God my maker and saviour and to our blessed lady St. Mary and to all the saints of heaven. To be bur. in church of St. Albans in Woodstreet London if I die in London. At my burying 6 torches burning in manner accustomed. Other 2 torches to chapel of St. John Bapt. of Wendov. Other 2 to church of Aston Clinton. An honest priest of good conversation to sing for my soul in sd. chapel of Wendov during 10 years. The church work of Aston Clynton to intent that parishioners pray for my soul 40s. among power householders of sd. prsh. To church work of St. Albones afsd. 40s. To brotherhood of Taylors of London 40s. To the lepers at St. Giles without Holborn 13s. 4d. and for lepers at Kingsland 13s. 4d. and those at Lokes 13s. 4d. To God's prisoners in Bethlem without Bishopsgate 20s. To convent of Friars at Aylesbury to pray for my soul 40s. To the parson in Ludgate 40s. to be delivered in bread weekly. To every convent of the 4 orders of Friars Mendicant in London to pray for my soul 13s. 4d. Among power folk at Wendeov 40s. To the marriage of 5 power maydens of pish of Abbots Clynton 100s. viz. to each 20s. To wife Alice as dower and part of goods £200 all wearing clothes rings etc. I forgive my brother Thomas C. his debt and he to have £10 over. To Thomas Lambard of Chalffhant St. Peter Co. Buck. 100s. To my servant William Wadowesson 100s. and forgive him debt. I forgive William Frynge, mercer his debt. To Thomas Chaterley my apprentice £10.

To William Dokett 20s. To Robert Colett my son £100. To son John C. £100. To son Geffery C. £100. To daur. Alice £100. To daur. Agnes £100. To daur. Johanne £100; if any sons or daurs. die under age or unmarried survivors clause among unmarried. If they all die before lawful age or marriage legacies to be disposed for my soul and their souls, as follows viz. in making a common way called Aylesbury Way betw. A. and Wendeov Co. Buck. and in reparation of sd. chapel of St. John in Wendeover and in ornaments etc. £40 and for finding priest to sing for souls of self and my children there £40 and to Church work of Aston Clynton £20, in alms among power householders in sd. town and pish. of A.C. £20 and among those of Wendover Hulton Weston Missinden Ellesborough and Stoke afsd. [*sic*] £100, in marriage of poor maidens of good name and conversation of London £100, in alms amongst lepers about London etc. and God's prisoners in Bethelam without Bishopsgate £60. The £600 bequeathed to my children to remain in chapel of Guildhall, London to their use. My feoffees in all my lands in Southwerk etc. Co. Surrey to make estate to sd. Colett [*sic*] my son in tail in default to son John C. in tail in default to son Geffery C. in tail in default to sd. Alice Annes and Johanne my daurs. in fee. Rest of goods to be sold and money to alms and charity in places abovenamed. Sd. son John C. and the sd. Chatley to-be exors. Will dat. at London.

Prob. 27 Oct. 1461 by exors. named.

It will be noted that John possesses no lands or tenements either in Co. Bucks or in the City of London where he lived. His lands in Southwark are not described, and as at this period testators could not dispose of land otherwise than it would have been assigned if they had died intestate, these lands probably came to him through his wife.

Of his six children the three sons Robert, John and Geffery and two daughters Alice, wife of William White, mercer, and Agnes, wife of Richard Blisset, gentleman, attained their majority and gave receipts to the Mercers Company that their claims on the Company had been duly satisfied.

Now, of the Collets whose children displayed the arms

of Sir Henry Colet, Kt., with a difference, on their parents' tombstones (like Peter Collet's daughters, Lady Aucher and Lady Hayman at Chelsfield and Richard C.'s sons Richard and Matthew at Kingsbury), or engraved them on their seals and appended them to their wills (like Henry Collet of Stepney, Joseph Collet's grandfather), or perhaps blazoned them on the panels of their coaches (like James Collet, whose daughter Deborah married Leonard Robinson and was the grandmother of Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, and whose son, afterwards Sir James, was prosecuted by the Heralds' Office) only one branch possessed any land that might be traced to John Colet of St. Albans, Wood Street.

(b) *Humfry Collet of Southwark (died 1558)*

Peter's father Humfry Collet died in 1558, when this son was 11 years old. He was a contemporary of the John Colet, citizen and mercer with whom Dean Colet quarrelled, who married Katharine Wall, the co-heiress of the rich owner of Grundisburgh, and who sued his brother William for some "red bedes" belonging to their mother. Humfry of course knew who his father and grandfather were, but modern research can find nothing but his possession of property in Southwark to confirm their belief that he was either the son or the grandson of Robert, eldest son of John of St. Albans, Wood Street, and nephew of Sir Henry Colet, whom he is known to have predeceased. [N.B. He is not the Robert, son of John, son of Thomas Colet, the brother of Sir Henry, from whom the owners of the Hale, Wendover, were descended.]

Most of Humfry's property in Southwark was bought by him as an investment for his money, as is proved by a large number of Chancery Rolls registering agreements between the parties. But the "mansion" house in which he dwelt, frequently mentioned, seems always to have been his. If any deeds relating to Southwark could be found revealing the maiden name of John's wife, Alice, in the middle of the 15th century, certainty could be attained. Perhaps if we knew her name the other claimants to descent from her could prove their case.

(c) *Richard Collet of Maldon, Essex (died 1557)*

Richard Collet of Maldon in Essex died in 1557. He therefore stands as close to John of St. Albans, Wood Street, as Humfry does. But except that he was not in the subsidy rolls for Maldon until Edward VI's reign, but was a churchwarden of St. Peter's, Maldon, during that reign, we know nothing of his antecedents. He was assessed at £10, and after his death Henry Collet of Maldon, Richard Collet of Colchester (and incidentally Thomas Gylson of Mayland, Maldon) at £5 each—the value of their goods, not the tax paid on them. There was another Richard at the same time at Dedham close by, who mentions no sons in his will and makes his son-in-law, Thomas Tull, one of his executors. Richard of Colchester, draper, was described as of scanty means when his son Richard was admitted a pensioner at Caius College, Cambridge, where he stayed for several years, proceeded to his M.A., and died shortly afterwards. Richard's son John is probably the ancestor of Capt. Thomas Collet and Capt. Jonathan Collet, brothers, in the service of the East India Company, who when at home lived at Barking. Capt. Thomas's wife was empowered to make a will; one of the witnesses was Mary Tull.

Henry Collet of Maldon (died 1588) has left no will. He inscribed his mark, a complicated one, in the Minute Book of the proceedings of the Town Council. The other tradesmen jurats also inscribed their various marks. The records from 1566-83 were admirably kept by the Town Clerk, John Barnardiston.

Henry Collet the elder of Canterbury, ironmonger, signed his will in 1648 (aged 78) with his mark, a small shield. The will is in simple language and an unclerkly hand. It is witnessed by Francis Lovelace (afterwards Recorder of Canterbury) and Will. Lovelace (then curate of Ash, Kent; afterwards rector of St. Margarets, Canterbury). It is sealed with their seal, the arms of Lovelace of Hengham with a difference.

We have found no will or act of his son Henry Collet the younger, who was the tenant of his father's house in Angel Lane in 1648.



Henry Collet of Stepney, ironmonger, citizen and white baker of London, freeman cutler of Canterbury, in his will (1676) briefly calls himself "gentleman," signs his name, and appends his seal with the arms of the Colets of Wendover. The seal—on a chevron, between three hinds trippant, three annulets; the crest—a hind trippant; helmet and mantling.

Would Henry of Stepney have been able to prove his descent if the heralds had challenged him? I think he was near enough to the original source to do so.

Collet Dobson Collet (1 Jan. 1813–28 Dec. 1898) spent many summer holidays in the house of a great-great aunt, Mrs. Ann Collet (1739–1828). She was the widow of the second son of Governor Collet's brother Samuel (1682–1773). She had known her father-in-law for many years and was on intimate terms with Joseph's granddaughters Rebecca Littell and Lady Clarke, and in close touch with his grandson Edward Leeds, Master in Chancery, and with John Howard, the prison reformer, who had married Henrietta Leeds.

C. D. Collet was therefore able to transmit to his children (alive in 1933) the impressions derived by him from a first-hand witness of the character and surroundings of a man born in 1682.

In the same way Henry the elder, of Canterbury (1570–1651), must have been able to supply as complete a chain to his grandson Henry of Stepney (1618–76) beyond Richard of Maldon (died 1557).

*(d) Henry Collet of Newbury, Berks (died 1552)*

In 1559 the will was proved of Richard Tull, citizen and draper of London, who refers to his brothers and the children of his brothers Robert and John Tull. These Tulls belonged to Newbury and its neighbourhood, being yeomen at Midgely and Thatcham and engaged in the clothworking trades at a time when, under John Smalwood from Winchcomb (Jack of Newbury, died 1519) and his son John Winchcomb (w.pr. 1555), the Reading and Newbury cloth trade in every branch was at its busiest.

In 1538 we find from the Newbury parish registers, kept in prompt obedience to the new registration order, that a

certain Henry Collet (who in 1547 was occupier of a "messuage with garden attached") was already settled with two sons Henry and Gabriel born before 1538; of those born afterwards one Richard survived.

Henry the younger (married 1555) had sons, of whom Gideon settled at Reading; the youngest, Thomas, became a surgeon and practised in Newtown and Newbury until his death in 1613. Twin sons (born 1560), Henry and William, left Newbury.

Richard (born 1542) and his sons John (born 1568), Humfry (born 1578) and Richard (born 1584/5) also left Newbury.

We know that these Collets were only passengers in Newbury, for in the will of the second Wynchcomb (*né* Smallwood), proved in 1555, he refers to his messuage in the tenure of Henry Collet at 20s. a year. But they were in close touch with two families permanently established in that neighbourhood—the Whytes and the Blissets. The Whytes were yeomen and mercers who took a leading part in civic affairs at Reading and Newbury; the Blissets were yeomen and "country gentlemen" of Chieveley near Newbury, some of whom at this time were engaged in the cloth trade. If we may assume that the first Henry Collet was a cousin of these Whytes and Blissets we may take it that his sons and grandsons were descended from Robert of Wendover, and we may fairly identify them with certain yeomen who handed down that tradition to their descendants. The two brothers Henry and Richard and Richard's sons John and Richard will be found in Gloucestershire, near cousins who had already bought land in Upper Slaughter. The history of this Gloucestershire group can be given by Mr. A. Ransford Collett and Mr. Henry Haines Collett.

William (born at Newbury 1560) can be identified with the William Collet, yeoman, who in 1592 acquired farm lands at Badbury, Wilts, and was the ancestor of Richard Collet, Master of the Vintners Company in 1718 and Richard's elder brother William, whose descendants are memorialized in *Our Collett Ancestors* by Peter G. Laurie. Richard was a Quaker.

Henry (born at Newbury 1560) can be identified with

Henry Collet, yeoman, of Edgware, who married Rose Sheppard, belonging to a yeoman family at Kingsbury. Their son Richard of Kingsbury, citizen and haberdasher, was the ancestor of three successive Matthew Collets, of whom the first two were citizen drapers and haberdashers (prosecuted for attending "disorderly meetings under the cloke of religion," that is, for being conventiclers), and the third was a colleague in the Bank of England of Governor Collet's first cousin Henry, who mentioned him in his will. John Collet the painter and caricaturist was a nephew of this Matthew. Richard Collet and John Collet, musicians, were descended from Richard the vintner.

To sum up, the descendants of the three ancestors, Humfry of Southwark, Richard of Maldon and Henry of Newbury and his brothers in Gloucestershire, may at the present time regard each other as twelfth cousins.

### III. "EX ANTIQUO GENERE COLLETTORUM ORTI" <sup>1</sup>

Although no other present-day Collets seem to have preserved the tradition, there is little room for doubt that Joseph Collet was correct in stating that nearly all the numerous Collets of his time were of Norman origin. They appear in English records, with surname, and no place or occupation to distinguish them, immediately after John lost Normandy. Norman traders at that epoch had to choose between the King of France and the King of England. Those who were careless of land and agriculture would not hesitate. The late Walter Rye made an analysis of six various versions of the so-called Roll of Battle Abbey. He found Colet in only one of them, and gave references in the *Magni Rotuli : Scaccarii Normanniæ* mentioning Willelmus Colet in 1180 and Umfridus Colet and Willelmus Colet in 1198. In 1248 a Robert Colet was one of a large number of witnesses as to ward boundaries in Verneuill. In the 15th century we can find traces of the family at every busy or once-busy staple town or at the seaports or heads of navigable parts of rivers serving the staple towns. In the 13th century East Anglia, Oxford, Ludlow gave them centres for their operations ; in the 14th they are in Lincolnshire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire and Kent ; at the end of it they are in Devonshire. At the beginning of the 15th century they are at Winchester, and very lively at Oxford and in Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire and the Cinque Ports ; and during the latter half Robert Colet's sons and grandsons find themselves at home in the City of London.

There is a curious similarity in the misdeeds of which they are accused. In 1418 the Abbot of Osney by Oxford complains that the mayor, in company with various specified tradespeople, including Walter Colet, draper "and other evil doers" broke two weirs of his, carried off nine horses, fished in his several fishery and carried off goods and assaulted, imprisoned, etc., his men tenants and servants. In 1380 the

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from inscription on monument of Peter Collet (born 1547).

Bishop of Exeter complains that Nicholas Colet, vicar of Wynkeleygh and William Colet of Co. Devon, with others (including the parson of Ryngeassh), hunted, fished, assaulted, etc.

In 1333 Simon, Archbishop of Canterbury, accuses a large number, including Richard Colet of Kent, of having cut down trees in his woods by night and by day, broken into his parks at Wrotham and Eghtham, hunted there and carried away deer and trees.

Another kind of charge was common amongst these sea-traders. In 1323 William Colet, with many others, is accused of raiding a ship belonging to Richard de Pulteneye, freighted with goods at Rouen to take to Southampton, when it was anchored in the port of Portsmouth, and of having carried away his goods.

In 1355 a pardon is granted to several people for the death of John Colet and Stephen Sherman. The said John and Stephen, pirates who plundered the king's men with their ships and goods on the sea, had been taken by some men of Shoreham and placed for safe keeping in the castle of Brembre, from which they escaped and fled to the church for sanctuary; afterwards before the coroner they abjured the realm and took their passage at Shoreham for Normandy in a boat and while crossing they were thrown out of the boat.

And going further back in their history we find a very up-to-date record :

1232. *De tradendis in ballium.* Mandatum est vice comiti Oxonie quod si Adam Feteplace, Willelmus Colet, Reginaldus le Scot et Walterus Caperun, quos tenet in prisa per preceptum regis pro verberatione et vulneratione clericorum scolarium Oxoniensium, invenerint ei salvos plegios, scilicet, singuli eorum vi plegios, ad standum inde recto, quando rex preceperit, vel coram justiciariis ad primam assisam, etc., et quod de cetero clericis universitatis non forisfacient; tunc in presentia cancellarii et aliquorum magistrorum universitatis predicte ipsos ita per plevinam dimittat.

Turning from these evidences of their exuberant energy in alleged misdoing to examples of their occupation and position in the world :

In 1273 we find included amongst persons licensed to

export wool " provided it was not bought from Flemings or Hainaulters " and not taken to any place in the power of the Countess of Flanders during the quarrel between her and Henry III, the names of Laurence Colet of Ludelowe, merchant, and John Colet of Salop. This is the only time when the surname is given to Laurence of Ludlow (the permits passing through the hands of Nicholas Fitz-Adele de la Pole), and neither his father, Nicholas, nor his descendants are ever called by this name. Later on several Colet's, or Coly's, are found in Shropshire in the Subsidy Rolls, the same person appearing under either name. Laurence of Ludlow had dealings on a large scale with popes and princes.

Between 1278 and 1300 we have records of Edward Colet, R. Colet and John Colet in Ireland. A payment is made in 1281 to the doorkeeper of the Exchequer for his fee, whereof certain officials " had tallies by R. Colet." Various payments are made to Edward Colet for a piece of land near the Exchequer sold to the king. There are also receipts given by Thomas de Coventry and Edward Colet " of farm of the city of Dublin " in 1298 and 1299 ; and a receipt given by the same Edward for 13s. 4d. from John de Sannford, late Archbishop of Dublin. In 1291, half a mark is paid by John Colet " for a false action."

In 1302 Richard le Leche of Ludlow is pardoned, by reason of his service in Scotland, for a series of robberies from various persons, including Reginald Colet at La Pole.

In 1336 Lucy, widow of Robert de Napton, staying in England, has letters nominating William Hobben of Napton and Thomas Colet her attorneys in Ireland for two years.

In 1363 the Pope grants the petition of Richard Colet for a canonry of Lichfield with expectation of a prebend on condition that he resigns the church of Elemeley Lovet.

In 1371 William Colet, " bocher," is pardoned of his outlawry in the husting of London for nonappearance before the king to answer William Dawye, clerk, touching a plea of trespass against him and others, " he having now surrendered to the Marshalsea prison as John Knyvet, chief justice has certified."

In 1373 Thomas and John de More are by deed appointed feoffees in trust for the lands of Stephen Colet lying in Sandhurst next Benenden, Kent.

In 1382 Richard Colet, warden and master of the "hospital of St. David, Swyneseye," is pardoned of outlawry for not appearing to render £40 to the executors of the will of Roger de Whytinton, chaplain.

And now we approach the period when those whom the present writer believes to be the grandfathers and great-uncles of Sir Henry Colet, were coming continuously under the eye of England's rulers side by side with the Poles, and the de la Poles, as the modern civil servants and cabinet ministers are brought together at the Treasury, and as the "business men" were called in consultation during the Great War.

With Geoffrey Colet we enter into the atmosphere of the Civil Service, although the Duke of Lancaster must have been his first royal chief. In 1417 we find entered "a grant for life to the king's servitor Geoffrey Colet, one of the tellers of the receipt, for his good service to the king's progenitors for thirty four years and to the king, of 8*d.* daily at the Exchequer." So Geoffrey must have entered the Audit Department of the Duke of Lancaster [or of King Richard] about 1383. His position as a "clerk" is on the border-line. It is quite possible that he was the Geoffrey presented to the church of Long Ichinton (Coventry and Lichfield diocese) in 1392; but in 1403 the Pope granted an indult to have a portable altar to Geoffrey Colet, "*layman*, of the diocese of Lichfield." His duties did not tie him down to one particular spot; on one occasion in 1403 he and a serjeant-at-arms are commissioned to take muster of the men at arms, armed men and archers assembling at Shrewsbury, to go from thence on the king's service to Wales in the company of the king's son Henry, Prince of Wales, and report thereon to the king and council "by writing and word of mouth." He was still living in 1430, and his name appears at intervals in business documents in private affairs.

Contemporaneously we have as Members of Parliament in 1397-8 Walter Colet for Wallingford; 1405-6 John Colet for Launceston; 1413-14 Walter Colet for Oxford; after

an interval, in 1467 and again in 1477-8, William Colet for Bedford. Then with the sole exception of Humfry Collet in Mary Tudor's reign, the family disappears completely from parliamentary records until 1812.

In 1440 (probably near the time Sir Henry Colet was born) the king grants an exemption for life to Richard Colet from being made sheriff, escheator, coroner, collector, assessor of taxes, of tenths, fifteenths, or other tallages or subsidies or customs of any harbour; and from being put on assizes, juries, inquisitions, attainments or other recognitions whatsoever, from being sworn under compulsion upon the trial of the array of any assize before any justices of assize and from being put or impanelled upon any grand assize.

Students of the history of unpaid social service should find the above compendium of the duties of the king's subjects useful.

In 1402: The mayor of Southampton and the king's searcher in that port. Order by mainprise of Robert Childenvale, Nicholas Symond, "sporyer," John Cple, "vynter" and John Edward "marbeler," all of London, to dearrest and deliver to *Robert Coly* a ship of *John Pole or Pulle* of the town of Cestre and the merchandise therein laded, altho' lately the king ordered *Robert Coly* to be in 'person before the barons of the Exchequer at Westminster on the morrow of Michaelmas next in order to answer touching divers articles concerning the said ship *laden with merchandize of his and Henry his father* which by stress of weather was driven to the port of Southampton and was there arrested by the searcher; as Robert Childevalle and the others have mainprised in chancery under pain of £100 to have the said *John Coly* [*sic*] before the said barons on the aforesaid day, and further to content the king for the ship and merchandize, or the price thereof in case the same shall be to him adjudged.

And in the same year (1402) is recorded an order to the mayor of Southampton and the collectors of the customs and subsidies and the searcher in the port of the town "to deliver to John de Pulle, 'chivaler,' a shop of his called *La Marie de Pulle* of which John Lenn is master, laden with divers goods and merchandize of the said John Pulle and



John Coly, which has been seized by them in the same port and to certify thereon to the king and council by the quinzaine of Michaelmas next; as the said John Pulle has personally made mainprise before the king under penalty of £100 to appear before the king and council then to satisfy the king of the forfeiture of the said ship, goods and merchandies if they be adjudged to the king."

Robert Colet of Wendover, as a freeholder, is rightly described as yeoman. But to discover his occupation and to understand the positions in commerce of his sons John Colet of St. Albans, Wood Street, and Sir Henry Colet, mayor of London, mayor of the Staple of Calais and mayor of the Staple of Westminster, the present writer would advise research students to follow up wherever possible the Colet, Coly, Coletus, Colett traders who are found carrying their merchandise in Sir John Pole's ships or in any other connection with these Poles.

Neither of these merchants was a self-made man, nor were the Poles of the English landed seigneur type. In 1383 we find a Reginald atte Pole, tailor, in London. In 1465 (4-5 Edward IV) Henry Colet, mercer (a young man, married that year), and Margaret, widow of Sir Walter de la Pole, were elected honorary members of the Taylors Company. In 1498 the Master of the Company was William Fitz-William and the Warden was T. Pole. In 1502 Henry VII, in a final charter to the Taylors Company, granted the name of "merchant" before "taylor," on the ground that its members bought and sold all kinds of merchandize in all quarters of the world to the renown, honour and benefit of the kingdom.

It was not until the dissolution of the monasteries, when several of the Colet family acquired abbey lands (by purchase) for rearing sheep in order to supply the wool markets, that the "country gentlemen" of the English type came into existence. These yeomen married into the families of neighbouring gentlemen farmers and became more truly English than the London traders, who valued most of all the freedom of cities and the freedom of mind.

We will close with two items of some historic interest.

In 1482, exactly 250 years after William Colet, draper,

was imprisoned for assaulting clerical students at Oxford, a certain John Colet was probably a student in residence at Cambridge, for he was admitted B.A. in 1484-5 and M.A. in 1487-8. The compilers of the *Alumni Cantabrigienses* could find no one whose after-career seemed in accordance with this John Colet's age and qualifications except a certain Rector of Thurning. Nor can we. This Rector of Thurning was afterwards Dean of St. Paul's.

In 1521 the Drapers Company paid "to John Slye and his company for ij plays on Monday and Tewesday (including 'Robert Williams, the Harp, and Henry Colet, the Lut') iiijs."

CLARA E. COLLET.

## POSTSCRIPT

### "THE FAMILY OF COLLETT"

Under this title Mr. Henry Haines Collett (author of *Little Gidding and its Founder*, etc.) has brought together in four thick folio volumes of typescript, in pedigree and narrative and annotated form, the great mass of records which he has collected from every available source during a patient and enthusiastic search carried on in leisure time during the last twenty years. He has associated my name with his as an equal partner in his work, but although we have collaborated for nearly the whole of that time and we have pooled our treasures, my contribution has been very small compared with his. My notes would have been left in their twenty-two volumes, mostly written in lead pencil, entered in any order, ranging over the centuries regardless of position in time, locality or branch of family, the result of a concentrated search for missing links in the chain from 1200 to 1800 of the mercantile Collets.

The contents of these volumes are :

#### *Vol. I.*

Genealogical Notes on Derivation, Spelling, and Earliest Records of the Name ; Armorial Bearings.

Collet of Bucks : Collet of Wendover. 15th century Colateral Branches and Individual Members of the Collet Family in Bucks and Herts.

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Collet of Glos, Oxen, and Chelsea (16th and 17th centuries).

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Collet of the City of London and of Kensington (17th-19th centuries).

Collet of the City of London (16th century).

Collet of Middlesex, City of London and Chelsea (17th-18th centuries).

Collet of Wiltshire, Somerset and City of London (16th and 18th centuries).

Collet of Berkshire (16th and 17th centuries).

Sir James Collett, Kt. (died 1711).

Joseph Collett of Wimborne Minster, Dorset (died 1621).

\*Colet and Collett, Members of Parliament.

Wills and Marriage Licences.

Miscellaneous.

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Collett of Jamaica (17th century).

*Vol. III.*

Collett of Gloucestershire.

*Vol. IV.*

Collett of America.

It is to be hoped that, before long, these records will find their way to the North Room of the British Museum.

C. E. C.

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